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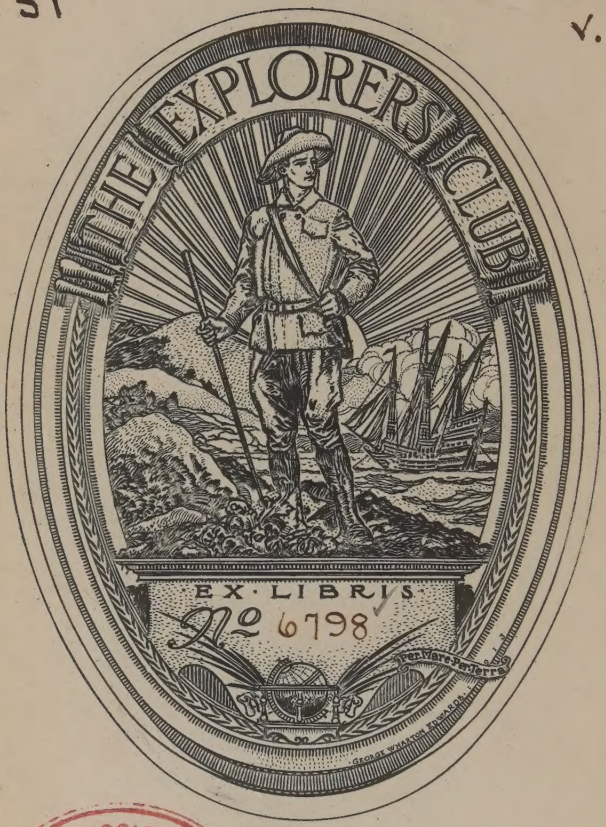

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THE

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THE TRUE HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN.

BY

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO,

ONE OF ITS CONQUERORS.

From the only exact copy made of the Original Manuscript.

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BY

GENARO GARCÍA.

Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes,

BY

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CONTENTS

BOOK XIV.

THE EXPEDITION TO HONDURAS.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

PAGE

How Hernando Cortés set out from Mexico on the road to Las Higueras in search of Cristóbal de Olid and Francisco de Las Casas and the other Captains, soldiers, and gentlemen whom he had sent there; and what Captains he took from Mexico to accompany him, and about the material and retinue he took with him as far as the town of Coatzacoalcos, and other things that happened . . . 1

CHAPTER CLXXV.

What Cortés arranged after the Factor and Veedor returned to Mexico, and about the hardships we endured on our long journey, and about the great bridges we made and the hunger we suffered during the two years and three months that we spent on the journey 8

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

How we had arrived at the town of Ciguatepecad and how he [Cortés] sent Francisco de Medina to meet Simon de Cuenca and proceed with the two vessels already mentioned by me to Triunfo de la Cruz or to the Golfo Dulce, and what else happened 17

6798

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

PAGE

What Cortés attended to after reaching Acalá, and how, in another pueblo further ahead, subject to this same Acalá, he ordered Guatemoc the Great Cacique of Mexico, and another Cacique, the lord of Tacuba, to be hanged, and the reason why he did it, and other things that happened . 24

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

How we went on our way, and what happened to us. . . 31

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

How Cortés entered the town where the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila were settled, and about the great joy shown by all the inhabitants, and what Cortés decreed . . 46

CHAPTER CLXXX.

How the day after arriving at that town, which I know by no other name than that of San Gil de Buena Vista, we set out with Captain Luis Marin and nearly eighty soldiers, all on foot, to search for maize and explore the country, and what happened I will go on to relate . . . 49

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

How Cortés embarked with all the soldiers, both those which he had brought in his company and those who had remained at San Gil de Buena Vista, and went to settle the place now called Puerto de Caballos, which he named La Natividad, and what he did there 53

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

How the Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval began the pacification of that Province of Naco, and what else he did . . 57

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

How Cortés disembarked at the Port of Trujillo, and how all the settlers at that town came out to receive him, and how content they were with him, and what he did there . 59

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

PAGE

How Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was at Naco, captured forty Spanish soldiers and their Captain, who had come from the province of Nicaragua, and did much damage and robbed the Indians of the pueblos through which they passed 66

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

How the Licentiate Zuazo sent a letter to Cortés from the Havana, and what was contained in it I will now relate . 71

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

How certain friends of Pedrarias de Ávila went post haste from Nicaragua to inform him that Francisco Hernandez, whom he had sent as Captain to Nicaragua, was in correspondence by letter with Cortés, and had revolted with the provinces, and what Pedrarias did about it . . . 82

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

How Cortés, going by sea in the direction of Mexico, met with a hurricane, and twice turned back to the port of Trujillo, and what happened to him there 83

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

How Cortés sent a Ship to New Spain, with a follower of his named Martin de Orantes as Captain, with letters and decrees appointing Francisco de las Casas and Pedro de Alvarado as Governors if they were there, and if not then Alonzo de Estrada and Albornoz . . . 86

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

How the Treasurer and many other gentlemen prayed the Franciscan Friars to send one Fray Diego Altamirano, a relation of Cortés, in a ship to Trujillo to make him [Cortés] return, and what happened about it . . . 92

BOOK XV.

THE RETURN TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER CXC.

PAGE

How Cortés embarked at Havana to go to New Spain and with favourable weather arrived at Vera Cruz, and the delight shown by all at his coming 98

CHAPTER CXCI.

How the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, who came to take the 'Residencia' of Cortés, arrived at this very moment at the port of Vera Cruz with three ships, and what happened about it 102

CHAPTER CXCII.

How the Licentiate Luis Ponce, after he had exhibited the Royal Decrees and met with obedience, ordered the Residencia of Cortés and those who had held judicial office to be proclaimed, and how he fell ill of sleeping sickness and died of it, and what else happened . . 112

CHAPTER CXCIII.

How, after the death of the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar began to govern, and the disputes that arose about it; and how Captain Luis Marin and all those of us who were in his company chanced to meet Pedro de Alvarado who was marching in search of Cortés, and how both parties rejoiced, because the country was hostile and could not be traversed without great danger 116

CHAPTER CXCIV.

PAGE

How Marcos de Aguilar died, and by his will appointed the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada as Governor (but he was not to give judgment in the suits of the Factor or Veedor, nor to grant or take away Indians, until His Majesty should ordain what was most to his advantage), in the same way as Luis Ponce had delegated his authority to him . 126

CHAPTER CXCV.

How letters came to Cortés from Spain from Don Garcia de Loaysa, Cardinal of Siguenza, who was President of the [Council of] the Indies and soon afterwards Archbishop of Seville, and from other gentlemen, [advising him] in any case to come at once to Castile, and they brought the news that his father Martin Cortés was dead, and what he did about it 139

BOOK XVI.

THE RULE OF THE AUDIENCIA.

CHAPTER CXCVI.

How during the time Cortés was in Castile with the title of Marquis, the Royal Audiencia came to Mexico, and with what it was busied 154

CHAPTER CXCVII.

How Nuño de Guzman, [when he] learned from letters which came to him from Castile that his Majesty had ordered him to be deprived of the Presidency, and the Oidores [to be dismissed], and that others would come in their places, decided to go and bring to peace and conquer the province of Jalisco which is now called New Galicia 167

CHAPTER CXCVIII.

PAGE

How the Royal Audiencia arrived at Mexico, and what it very justly accomplished 169

CHAPTER CXCIX.

How Don Hernando Cortés, Marques del Valle, came from Spain, married to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga, and with the title of Marques del Valle and Captain General of New Spain and of the South Sea, and about the reception given to him 176

CHAPTER CC.

Of the expenditure which the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés incurred for the fleet which he sent on voyages of discovery, and how he had no good luck at all . . . 178

CHAPTER CCI.

How great festivities and banquets were celebrated in Mexico and what rejoicing [took place] at the peace [made] between the Most Christian Emperor our Lord of Glorious Memory, and Don Francisco the King of France, when they met at Aguas Muertas 188

CHAPTER CCII.

How the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza sent three ships to explore the South Coast in search of Francisco Vasquez Coronado and sent him provisions and soldiers, supposing that he was engaged in the conquest of Cibola . . 201

CHAPTER CCIII.

About a fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out from a port called Acajutla in the province of Guatemala 204

CHAPTER CCIV.

What the Marquis did when he was in Castile . . 209

BOOK XVII.

THE RECORD OF THE CONQUISTADORES.

CHAPTER CCV.

PAGE

A Record of the gallant Captains and stout and valiant soldiers who left the Island of Cuba with the daring and courageous Captain Don Hernando Cortés, who after conquering Mexico became Marquis del Valle and had other titles . . 222

CHAPTER CCVI.

About the stature and shape of certain of the Captains and brave soldiers and the age they had attained when we came to conquer New Spain 252

CHAPTER CCVII.

About the matters dealt with herein concerning the merits which we the true Conquistadores possess, which will be pleasant to hear 260

CHAPTER CCVIII.

How the Indians throughout New Spain practised many sacrifices and vices, and [how] we did away with these and instructed them in the holy matters of good doctrine . 262

CHAPTER CCIX.

How we impressed very good and holy doctrines on the Indians of New Spain, and about their conversion and how they were baptised and turned to our holy faith, and how we taught them the Offices in use in Castile, and to comprehend and secure justice 265

CHAPTER CCX.

About other matters and advantages which have followed from our renowned conquests and labours . . . 271

CHAPTER CCXI.

PAGE

How in the year IVVI (1550) when the Court was at Valladolid there met together in the Royal Council of the Indies certain prelates and gentlemen who came from New Spain and Peru as Proctors, and other noblemen who were present, in order to give the order that the Assignment [of Indians or Pueblos] should be in perpetuity, and what was said and done at the meeting is what I shall relate . . 280

CHAPTER CCXII.

About other discussions and stories which are here made known and will be pleasant to hear 286

CHAPTER CCXIII.

Why many Indian men and women were branded as slaves in New Spain, and the story I tell about it . . 301

CHAPTER CCXIV.

About the Governors who have been in New Spain up to the year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight . . . 311

APPENDIX A 333

APPENDIX B 343

FIFTH LETTER OF HERNANDO CORTÉS TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V 347

INDEX 449

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Tayasal (Flores), Lake of Peten-Itzá. From a photograph by A. P. M. . . . *To face page* 33

2. House at Castilleja de la Cuesta, where Cortés died. Photograph by A. P. M. . . . *To face page* 211

MAPS.

Map of Tabasco, by Melchor Alfaro de Santa Cruz, 1579. From the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. *In the pocket at the end.*

Map of Tabasco, showing the route followed by Hernando Cortés in 1524-5. Compiled from modern sources. *In the pocket at the end.*

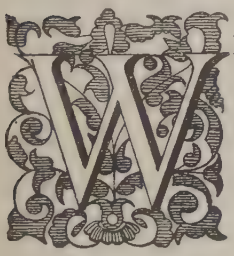
Map of Guatemala and the adjacent Countries, showing the routes followed by Hernando Cortés and by Luis Marin and Bernal Díaz . . *In the pocket at the end*

BOOK XIV.

THE EXPEDITION TO HONDURAS.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

How Hernando Cortés set out from Mexico on the road to Las Higueras in search of Cristóbal de Olid and Francisco de Las Casas and the other Captains, soldiers, and gentlemen whom he had sent there; and what Captains he took from Mexico to accompany him, and about the material and retinue he took with him as far as the town of Coatzacoalcos, and other things that happened.



WHEN some months had passed since Captain Hernando Cortés sent Francisco de Las Casas against Cristóbal de Olid, as stated in the last chapter, it seemed to him that perchance the armada he had dispatched had not been successful. Moreover he had been told that the land was rich in gold mines and for that reason he was as covetous about the mines as he was anxious about the contentions which might have arisen in the armada, taking into consideration the mischances that ill luck is wont to occasion on such journeys. As he was naturally of high courage he had repented

having sent Francisco de Las Casas instead of going himself. However, he had no doubt that the man he had sent was strong enough to repel any offence.

Being of this way of thinking, he decided to set out himself, and he left behind in Mexico a good supply of artillery in the fortress as well as in the dockyards, and the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the Accountant Albornoz, as lieutenant governors in his place; and had he known about the letters which Albornoz had written, speaking evil of him to His Majesty in Castile, he would not have left him such authority and I do not yet understand how he happened to do so. He left as his principal Alcalde the Licentiate Zuazo, already mentioned by me, and, as lieutenant to the principal Alguacil and as Mayordomo of all his estate, his kinsman one Rodrigo de Paz. He left as large a garrison as he was able to do in Mexico.

He charged all these officers of the King's Treasury, on whom he left the burden of Government, to devote great care to the conversion of the natives, and he also impressed it on Fray Toribio Motolinia of the order of Señor San Francisco and other good ecclesiastics. With a view to preventing Mexico and the other provinces from revolting, and in order that they should remain peaceful and not be influenced by the more important Caciques, he carried with him the great Lord of Mexico named Guatemoc, often mentioned by me before, the same who made war on us when we captured Mexico, also the Lord of Tacuba and one Juan Velásquez, a Captain of the same Guatemoc, and many other chieftains—among them one Tapiezuelo, a chieftain of great importance; and he even brought other Caciques from Michuacan, and [he took with him] Doña Marina, the interpreter, for Gerónimo de Aguilar was already dead. He took in his company many gentlemen and Captains

who were settlers in Mexico, namely Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was chief Alguacil, and Luis Marin and Francisco Marmolejo, Gonzalo Rios de Ocampo and Pedro de Írcio, Avalos and Sayavedra who were brothers, and one Palacios Rubios and Pedro de Sauzedo the flat-nosed, Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, Alonzo de Grado, Santa Cruz Burgalés,[1] Pedro Solis Casquete, Juan Jaramillo, Alonzo Valiente, and one Navarrete, and one Serna, and Diego de Mazariegos, a cousin of the Treasurer, Gil Gonzáles de Benavides and Hernan López de Ávila and Gaspar de Garnica, and many others whose names I do not remember. He also took with him a priest and two Franciscan Friars, Flemings and great theologians, who preached during the journey. As Mayordomo he took one Carranza, and as Maestresala Juan de Xaso and one Rodrigo Mañuelo, and as Butler one Zervan Vejarano and as Chamberlain Fulano[2] de San Miguel, who was living in Oaxaca, and for Steward one Guinea, who was also a settler in Oaxaca. He took great services of gold and silver plate, and he who had charge of it was Tello de Medina. The chamberlain was a certain Salazar, a native of Madrid, and the doctor a Licentiate Pedro López, who was a settler in Mexico, and the Master Surgeon Diego de Pedraza, and many others as pages, one of them being Don Francisco de Montejo, who was in after time Captain in Yucatan (I am not speaking of the Adelantado his father); besides two lance pages, one of them named Puebla, and eight grooms and two falconers named Perales and Garci Caro and Alvaro Montañez. He also brought five players on the oboe, sackbut and dulcimer,

---

[1] Of Burgos?

[2] It has been thought best to retain the term "Fulano," as it is not easily translated. The term is Arabic in origin, and means "such a one," "so and so," and is used when the first name is not known, or not worth mentioning.

and an acrobat and another who did sleight of hand tricks and worked puppets, and as equerry Gonzalo Rodríguez de Ocampo; also some mules with three Spanish Muleteers, and a great herd of swine, which fed along the roadside. The Caciques whom I have named were accompanied by over three thousand armed Mexican Indians, and many others who were the servants of those Caciques.

When [the expedition] was on the point of setting out, the Factor Salazar and the Veedor Chirinos, who were to remain in Mexico, seeing that Cortés had assigned no office to them, nor treated them with as much consideration as they expected, decided to become very friendly with the Licentiate Zuazo and Rodrigo de Paz and all the old conquistadores who were friends of Cortés and remained behind in Mexico. All of them together made a petition to Cortés that he should not leave Mexico, but stay and govern the country, and they pointed out to him that the whole of New Spain might revolt, and over this arose long discussions and replies between Cortés and those who made the petition, and when they could not convince him that he should remain, the Factor and Veedor said that they wished to serve him and accompany him as far as Coatzacoalcos as his road passed through that town.

Having set out from Mexico in the way I have related, I wish to record that the great reception and fiestas which they gave Cortés in all the towns he passed through were wonderful, and moreover there joined him on the road fifty more soldiers and other stray persons newly arrived from Castile.

Cortés ordered the expedition to proceed by two separate roads as far as Coatzacoalcos, for had all gone together there would not have been enough food.

As they went their way, the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar

and the Veedor performed a thousand services for Cortés, especially the Factor, who, when Cortés spoke to him, doffed his cap to the ground, with many deep bows and suave speeches, evincing great friendship, and with lofty eloquence continually advised him to return to Mexico and not to engage in such a long and laborious journey, placing before him the many obstacles [in the way] and even sometimes so as to humour him, he sang as he went along the road, saying in his songs:

Ay tio volvamosnos	Let us go back Uncle
Ay tio volvamosnos	Let us go back Uncle
Questa mañana he visto	This morning I have seen
Una señal muy mala	A very bad omen
Ay tio volvamosnos	Let us go back Uncle.

and Cortés answered in song:

Adelante mi sobrino	Forward my nephew
Adelante mi sobrino	Forward my nephew
Y no creays en agueros	And do not believe in auguries
Que sea lo que Dios quisiere	It will be as God wills
Adelante mi sobrino	Forward my nephew.

Let us cease talking about the Factor and his courteous and suave speeches, and I will relate how, on the journey, at the pueblo of one Ojeda the squint-eyed, near another pueblo named Orizaba, Juan Jaramillo was married in presence of all to Doña Marina the interpreter. Let us go on and I will relate how they continued their march towards Coatzacoalcos and arrived at a large pueblo called Guaspaltepec in the encomienda of Sandoval. When we knew in Coatzacoalcos that Cortés was coming with so many gentlemen, we went out with the Chief Alcalde, the Captains, and all the municipality, a distance of thirty-three leagues to receive Cortés and give him welcome, as though we were about to receive favours from him. This I state here, so that interested

readers and others may see that Cortés was so greatly esteemed as well as feared, that now nothing was done except what he wished, were it good or bad.

From Guaspaltepec he marched to our town, and at a great river that he passed on the way he began to meet with misfortune, for in crossing it two canoes were overturned and he lost some plate and clothes, and Juan Jaramillo lost the half of his baggage, and nothing could be recovered because the river was full of great alligators. From there we went to a pueblo named Uluta, and we accompanied him thence to Coatzacoalcos through inhabited country all the way.

I wish to mention the large collection of canoes which we had ordered to be in readiness, tied together two and two, at the great river near to the town, for they numbered over three hundred; and the grand reception that we gave him, with triumphal arches and dances of Christians and Moors and other great rejoicings and cunning diversions, and we lodged him as well as we were able—both Cortés and all those he brought in his company—and he stayed there for six days.

All this time the Factor kept on saying to him that he ought to turn back from his journey, that he ought to bear in mind to whom it was that he had delegated his authority, that he [the Factor] held the Accountant to be very rebellious and double dealing and a friend of innovations, and that the Treasurer boasted that he was a son of the Catholic King and that he [the Factor] did not think well of certain doings and conversations, and had noticed that they were conversing in secret after Cortés had placed them in power and even before. In addition to this Cortés had already received, while on the journey, letters from Mexico speaking evil of the Government of those he had left in authority, and the friends of the Factor had informed him of this, and

speaking on this subject the Factor said to Cortés that he and the Veedor, who was there present, would know how to govern as well as those he (Cortés) had left behind in Mexico; they professed themselves his most obedient servants and they spoke such honied words, with such affectionate expression, that they induced him to confer on [them], the Factor and the Veedor Chirinos, power to act as Governors, under condition that, should they see that Estrada and Albornoz were not doing what they ought to do for the service of our Lord and His Majesty, they were to be the sole governors. These powers were the cause of many troubles and revolts which took place in Mexico, as I will relate further on after I have finished the next four chapters, and our very laborious journey. Until that journey is ended and we are stationed at a town called Trujillo I will not relate in my story anything that happened in Mexico.

I wish to mention that for this reason Gonzalo de Ocampo said in his defamatory libels: "Oh fat brother Salazar maker of quarrels, you deceived the Prior with your false show of reverence. A Friar of holy life told me to beware of a man who spoke such polished rhetoric."

Let us cease speaking about libels and I will state that when the Factor and Veedor took leave of Cortés on returning to Mexico, it was with many compliments and embraces, and the Factor had a way of sobbing which made it appear as though he must weep at saying good-bye; but he carried his commission in his breast in such a manner as to draw attention to it, and the Secretary named Alonzo Valiente, who was his friend, had drawn it up in the way that he wished it to be worded.

They returned to Mexico, and with them returned Hernan López de Ávila, who was ill with pain and crippled with boils.

Let them go on their journey, for I will not touch in this present story on the great tumults and discords which arose in Mexico, until their proper time and place. From the time when all these gentlemen I have mentioned, and many others, had joined Cortés and we set out from Coatzacoalcos, until we accomplished this laborious journey, we [continually] risked losing our lives as I will relate further on; but as two sets of events happened at the same time and I do not wish to break the thread of one in order to speak of the other I have decided to go on with our most laborious journey.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

What Cortés arranged after the Factor and Veedor returned to Mexico, and about the hardships we endured on our long journey, and about the great bridges we made and the hunger we suffered during the two years and three months that we spent on the journey.[1]

AFTER despatching the Factor and Veedor to Mexico, the first thing Cortés decided was to write to Villa Rica, to his Mayordomo named Simon de Cuenca, to lade two vessels of small burden with maize biscuits (for at that time Mexico did not produce wheat) and six pipes of wine, oil and vinegar, and bacon, and horse shoes and other kinds of supplies, and ordered them to go coasting along towards the North, saying that he would write to him and inform him where to make port, and that Simon de Cuenca himself should go as Captain. Then he ordered all of us settlers of Coatzacoalcos to accompany himself and only the infirm to remain behind. I have already stated that this town was settled by the Conquistadores who had been longest in Mexico, and by all the best born among those who had taken part in

[1] For the route traversed see Appendix A.

the late victories in Mexico, and at the time when we should have been resting from our great labours, and endeavouring to acquire some wealth and estates, he ordered us to go a journey of more than five hundred leagues, with all the country through which we passed up in arms [against us], while all we possessed was given up as lost, and we were on that march more than two years and three months.

To go back to my story, we were all of us ready with our arms and horses, for we did not dare to say no (and when anyone did say so, he made him go by force,) and we numbered in all, those from Coatzacoalcos as well as those from Mexico, over two hundred and fifty soldiers —one hundred and thirty horsemen and the others musketeers and crossbowmen—without counting many other soldiers newly arrived from Castile.

He promptly ordered me to go as Captain of thirty Spaniards and three thousand Mexican Indians to some pueblos which were at war with us, named Cimatan,[1] and quartered the three thousand Mexican Indians on them; but, should the natives of that province be peaceable or come to render service to His Majesty, I was to do them no harm and put no pressure on them, beyond ordering them to feed these people. But if they did not wish to come [to peace], that I should summon them three times to make peace in a way they should fully understand, and in presence of a notary who accompanied me and witnesses. That if they would not then come in, I was to make war on them, and for this he gave me authority and instructions which I still possess to-day, signed with his name and that of his Secretary Alonzo Valiente.

---

[1] According to Melchior Alfaro Sta. Cruz, the Cimatanes were a Mexican people settled there by Montezuma, who held Cimatan and Xicalango as outposts of his empire (cf. *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. i, p. 352).

So I made that journey as he had ordered it, the pueblos keeping the peace, but a few months later, when they saw how few Spaniards remained in Coatzacoalcos and that we Conquistadores had gone with Cortés, they again rose in revolt.

I promptly set out with my Spanish soldiers and Mexican Indians for the pueblo whither Cortés had ordered me to go, which was named Iquinuapa.

Let us now return to Cortés and his journey. He set out from Coatzacoalcos and went to Tonalá, a distance of eight leagues, and at once crossed a river in canoes and went to another pueblo named Ayagualulco, and crossed another river in canoes, and from Ayagualulco at a distance of seven leagues he crossed an estuary flowing to the sea, and they made him a bridge half a quarter of a league in length. It was a marvellous thing how they made it in the estuary, but Cortés always sent ahead two Captains from among the settlers at Coatzacoalcos, one of these was named Francisco de Medina, a quick-witted man, who thoroughly understood how to manage the natives of this country.

Beyond that great bridge he went through some small pueblos before arriving at another great river called Maçapa, which is the river coming from Chiapas, called by the sailors the Rio de dos Bocas.[1] There he had many canoes, tied together two and two, and after crossing that river he went on to other pueblos whither I had set out with my company of soldiers, which as I have stated was called Iquinuapa.[2] After that he crossed another river on bridges, which we made of timber, and then an estuary, and arrived at another large town named Copilco ;

---

[1] The river with two mouths.

[2] Bernal Díaz was instructed to meet Cortés at Iquinuapa, but Cortés makes no mention of that Pueblo, and Bernal Díaz probably passed on to meet Cortés at Copilco.

from that point begins the province which they call La Chontalpa, which was all thickly peopled and full of orchards of Cacao and quite peaceful.

From Copilco we passed through Nacajuca[1] and arrived at Zaguatan, and on the road crossed another river in canoes. There Cortés lost certain horse-shoes. When we arrived at this town we found it peaceful, and then during the night the inhabitants went fleeing from it and crossed to the other side of a great river, all among swamps. Cortés ordered us to go and search for them in the woods, and that which he ordered was very inconsiderate and profitless.

The soldiers who went on the search crossed the river with the greatest difficulty and brought back seven chieftains and some common people, but it profited us little, for they quickly took to flight again and we were left alone without guides.

At that time the Caciques from Tabasco arrived with fifty canoes laden with maize and provisions, and there also came some Indians from the pueblos in the encomienda that I held at that time, named Teapa and Tecomajiaca,[2] bringing canoes laden with supplies. Then we went on our way to other pueblos named Tepetitan and Istapa, and on the road there was a river of great volume called Chilapa, and we spent four days in making rafts. I told Cortés that I had heard say that up stream was a town called Chilapa, which is the same name as that of the river, and that it would be as well to send [to that town], in a broken canoe which we had found, five of the Indians whom we had brought with us as guides, and to send word [to the people of Chilapa] to bring canoes. Cortés gave orders accordingly, and a

[1] Nacaxuxuyca, in the original.
[2] Tecomajayaca.

soldier went with the five Indians, and as they went up the river they met two Caciques who were bringing six large canoes and supplies, and with those canoes and the rafts we got across, and we were occupied four days over the passage. Thence we went to Tepetitan which we found deserted and the houses burnt down, and, as we then learnt, other pueblos had made war on it a few days before and had carried off many captives and burned the pueblo.

The whole of the road we traversed during the three days after crossing the river Chilapa was very boggy and the horses sank in the mud up to their girths, and there were some very large toads there. Thence we marched to another town named Istapa, and the Indians fled through fear of us and crossed to the other side of a very rapid river, and we went in search of them and we brought in the Caciques and many Indians with their wives and children, and Cortés spoke caressingly to them and ordered that four Indian women and three men whom we had captured in the forest should be given up to them, and in payment for this and quite willingly they brought and presented to Cortès some pieces of gold of small value.

We stayed in this pueblo for three days, for there was good forage there for the horses and plenty of maize, and Cortés said that it would be a good place to found a town, for we received information that there were good villages in the neighbourhood for the service of such a town.

In this pueblo of Istapa Cortés learned from the Caciques and native merchants all about the road we had to follow, and he even showed them a hennequen cloth which he brought from Coatzacoalcos, on which all the pueblos we should pass on the way were marked as far as Gueacalá, which in their language means the great

Acalá, for there is another pueblo which they call Acalá the Less. There [in Istapa] they told us that all the rest of our journey led across many rivers and great estuaries, and that before reaching another pueblo named Tamastepec[1] we should meet three more rivers and a great estuary, and that we should be three days on the road. When Cortés knew this and learnt about the rivers he asked all the Caciques to go and build bridges and provide canoes, but they did not do it. So with toasted maize and other vegetables we made provision for three days, believing what they told us. However, it was [merely] to get us out of their houses that they said the journey would be no longer, for it took seven days, and we found the rivers unbridged and no canoes, and we had to build a bridge of very thick timbers to enable the horses to pass, and all of us soldiers and Captains went off to cut wood and haul it, and the Mexicans helped all they could. We were three days building it and had nothing to eat but herbs, and some roots of what in this country they call wild quequexque,[2] which burned our tongues and mouths.

When we had crossed that estuary we found no road and we had to open one with our swords in our hands, and we travelled for two days along this road we had opened, thinking that it would lead us straight to a pueblo, until one morning we turned back into this same road which we had opened, and when Cortés saw this he was like to burst with rage; moreover he heard the murmur of evil things which they said of him and of his journey, on account of the great hunger we endured, and that he only looked to [the satisfaction of] his own appetite without

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[1] Cortés calls this pueblo Tatahuitalpan and says Tamastepec is another name for Tepititan.

[2] Quequexque = ichintal, the root of the huisquil. (Sechium Edule ?)

sufficient forethought, and that it was far better for us to turn back than all to die of hunger.

There was, moreover, another consideration, the forest was so excessively high and thick we could seldom see the sky, and, when they attempted to climb some of the trees in order to survey the country, they could see nothing at all, so dense was the forest, and two of the guides we had brought with us fled, and the one who remained was so ill that he could explain nothing about the road or any other matter. As Cortés was always prompt and was not careless from wanting in anxiety, we had with us a compass and a pilot named Pero López, and, with the plan on the cloth he brought from Coatzacoalcos on which the pueblos were marked, he ordered us to follow the compass through the forest, and with our swords we opened a road towards the east, which was where the pueblo was marked on the cloth, and Cortés even said that if we did not reach an inhabited place next day, he did not know what we should do, and many of us soldiers and all the others wanted to return to New Spain. Still we followed our direction through the forest, and it pleased God that we should find some trees which had been felled long ago and then a small pathway, and I and the pilot Pero López, who were going in front opening the road with some other soldiers, returned to tell Cortés to cheer up, as there were some farms, at which all our army expressed great content, but before reaching the habitations there was a river, which we crossed with very great difficulty in all haste, and came on a pueblo which had been deserted that very day, and there we found plenty to eat, both maize and beans and other vegetables, and as we were almost dead with hunger we had a real gorge and even the horses recovered, and for all this we gave many thanks to God.

The Juggler we brought with us, whom I have already

mentioned, and three other Spaniards who had lately come from Spain, had died on the road, as well as some of the Mechuacan and Mexican Indians, and many others fell ill and remained on the road in despair.

As the pueblo was deserted and we had no interpreter nor anyone to act as guide, Cortés ordered two companies to go through the forest and the farms to search for the inhabitants, and other soldiers went in some canoes which they found on the great river which flowed near the pueblo, and came upon many of the inhabitants of the pueblo, and with soft speeches and flatteries induced more than thirty of them and nearly all the Caciques and priests to come in. When Cortés spoke to them amicably through Doña Marina, they brought much maize and poultry and pointed out the road we had to follow to another pueblo named Ciguatepecad, which was distant three days' march, about sixteen leagues. Before reaching it there was another small pueblo subject to this Temastepeque from whence we set out.

Before I go on any further I wish to say that on account of the great hunger we endured, both Spaniards and Mexicans, it appears that certain Mexican Caciques had seized two or three Indians in the pueblos which we had left behind us, and had brought them along concealed [from us], as they carried burdens and were clothed as they were.

Then, on account of the hunger they endured on the march, they killed them and baked them in ovens made for the purpose in the ground with stones, as they had been accustomed to do in their time in Mexico, and they ate them, and in the same way they had seized the two guides we had brought with us who had fled, and they ate them.

When Cortés came to hear of it, on the advice of Guatemoc he ordered the Mexican Caciques to be called

before him and scolded them badly, and said that if it happened again he would punish them, and one of the Franciscan Friars we had brought with us, already mentioned by me, preached many holy and good words to them, and when he had finished his sermon, Cortés ordered one Mexican Indian to be burnt as punishment for the death of the Indians they had eaten, although he knew that all were guilty of it, so that he should appear to be doing justice, as though he did not know of the other culprits beside the one he burned.

I must refrain from telling in full all the many other hardships we endured, and how the players on the oboes, sacbuts and dulcimers, whom Cortés had brought with him, as I have already recorded, and who were accustomed to dainties in Castille, and knew nothing of hardships and had fallen ill through hunger, made no music, excepting one of them, and all the soldiers cursed the sound of it and we said it was like foxes and jackals howling and it would be better to have maize to eat than music.

To go back to my story, I must say that many persons have asked me how was it that enduring as much hunger as I have stated, we did not eat the herd of swine they brought for Cortés, for the necessity of hunger has no laws, even had they been [reserved] for the king, and that when Cortés saw the hunger we were enduring he would on such an occasion order them to be divided among us all. To this I answer that one who had come as Steward and Mayordomo to Cortés, named Guinea, a double dealer, had already spread a report and caused it to be believed that when crossing the rivers they had been eaten by the sharks and alligators, and in order that we should not see them they were always left behind four days' journey in the rear. Moreover, for as many soldiers as we were the whole of them would

not have sufficed for one day, and this is the reason we did not eat them, besides there was the fear of angering Cortés.

Let us leave this talk and I will relate that in all the pueblos and roads we passed we left crosses placed wherever there were good trees to cut them on, especially Ceibas,[1] on which the crosses remain [clearly] defined and are more permanent when cut on those trees than when made of timber, for the bark grows and the crosses remain perfect. Then we left notices in places where they could be read, and in these it was stated "Cortés passed by here at such a time" and this was done so that if others should come in search of us they might know that we had gone on ahead.

To return to our march to Ciguatepecad, we had with us over twenty Indians from that pueblo of Temastepeque, and they helped us to cross the rivers on rafts and in canoes; moreover they went as messengers to tell the Caciques of the pueblo whither we were going not to have any fear, as we would do them no harm whatever, so many of them remained in their houses, and what happened there I will relate further on.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

How we had arrived at the town of Ciguatepecad and how he [Cortés] sent Francisco de Medina to meet Simon de Cuenca and proceed with the two vessels already mentioned by me to Triunfo de la Cruz or to the Golfo Dulce, and what else happened.

WHEN we arrived at the town I have mentioned, Cortés cajoled the Caciques and chieftains and gave them good Chalchihuites from Mexico, and asked where the large

[1] Cottonwood (Bombax Ceiba).

and rapid river flowed to which ran near the town, and they told him that it ended in some lagoons where stood a pueblo named Gueatasta and near to it was another large pueblo called Xicalango. It occurred to Cortés at once to send two Spaniards in canoes to the north coast to find out about Captain Simon de Cuenca and his two ships which he had ordered to be laden with provisions for the journey I have spoken about, and he wrote to him informing him about our hardships and telling him to go on ahead along the coast, and, after having clearly informed him how he could reach the townships I have mentioned by that river, he despatched the two Spaniards of whom the more important was Francisco de Medina, often named by me before. He gave him authority as Captain jointly with Simon de Cuenca, because Medina was very active and spoke the language of the country, and he was the soldier who caused the revolt of the pueblo of Chamula when we went with Luis Marin to the conquest of Chiapas, as I have related in the Chapter which speaks of it. It would have been better had Cortés never given him that authority, on account of what afterwards happened, which was that he went down the river to where Simon de Cuenca was stationed with his two ships at Xicalango, awaiting news of Cortés, and after delivering Cortés's letters, presented his commission as Captain ; and over the right to command, disputes arose between the two Captains so that they came to blows, and owing to their siding with one or the other all the Spaniards in the ship lost their lives except six or seven.

When the Indians of Xicalango and Gueyatasta saw this strife they fell on these latter and killed them all and burned the ships. However, we knew nothing of this until two years and a half later, and I will stop talking about it and return to the town where we were stationed, named Ciguatepecad, and tell how the Indian

Chieftains told Cortés it was three days journey thence to Gueyacalá, and that there were two rivers to cross on the way and one of them was very deep and broad, and then there were some bad bogs and great swamps, and that unless he had canoes he could not get the horses across, nor even a single soldier of his army. Cortés promptly sent two soldiers, with three Indian Chieftains from the pueblo to show them the road, to examine the river and swamps and see how we could cross, and bring a full report. The two soldiers whom he sent were Martin García the Valencian, the Alguacil of our army, and Pedro de Ribera. Martin García, to whom Cortés gave the principal charge, saw the rivers and with some small canoes which they had in this same river he examined it and saw that by making bridges it would be possible to cross it; however, he did not take the trouble to examine the bad swamps a league beyond, but returned to Cortés and told him that by making bridges they would be able to cross, believing that the swamps were not as difficult as we afterwards found them to be.

Cortés promptly ordered me and one Gonzalo Mexia, whom we nicknamed Rapapelo[1] [the Barber], to go with some chieftains from Ciguatepecad to the towns of Acalá and coax the Caciques, and by pleasant specches persuade them not to flee, because that settlement of Acalá was composed of more than twenty small pueblos on the main land and others on islands. We did all the journey in canoes by rivers and lagoons, and we took with us the three Indians from Ciguatepecad as guides, and the first night we slept on the road they ran away from us, for they did not dare to go with us, for, as we afterwards learnt, they [the people of Acalá] were their enemies and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "because he was the grandson of a Captain who went robbing in company of a certain Zenteno in the time of King Don Juan."

they were at war with one another. So we had to go forward without guides, and crossing the swamps with difficulty reached the first pueblo of Acalá, and although the people were excited and inclined to be hostile, with friendly speeches and the gift of some beads we cajoled them and begged them to go to Ciguatepecad to see Malinche and take him food. It appears that at the time we arrived this pueblo had heard no news of the coming of Cortés with a large following of horsemen as well as of Mexicans, and next day, when they heard reports through Indian merchants of the great force which Cortés was bringing, the Caciques [then] showed greater willingness to send supplies than [they did] when we arrived, and said that when he should come the pueblos would serve him and do what they were able towards supplying food, but as for going to where he was stationed they did not wish to go because [the people there] were their enemies. While we were engaged in such conversation with the Caciques, two Spaniards arrived with the letters from Cortés, in which he ordered us to set out from thence with all the provisions we could collect, and march back for three days along the road, because all the people of the pueblo at which we had left him had abandoned it and gone away; and he informed me that he was already on his way to Acalá and had brought no maize and could not procure any, and that I should make every effort to prevent the Caciques from making off.

The Spaniards who brought the letter told me that Cortés had sent four Spaniards—three of them men newly arrived from Castile—up the river from Ciguatepecad to ask for supplies from the other pueblos which were said to be near at hand, and that they had not returned and it was believed that they had been killed, and this turned out to be true.

Let us return to Cortés, who began his march and in

two days reached the great river which I have already mentioned, and at once worked hard at building a bridge—and it was built with such toil, and with such huge and thick timbers, that after it was made the Indians of Acalá marvelled to see the timbers so placed. It took four days in the making. When Cortés started with all his soldiers from the pueblo already mentioned by me many times, they brought neither maize nor [other] provisions and during the four days that we remained in the pueblo while Cortés was building the bridge, there were deaths from hunger, although some of the old soldiers supported themselves by felling some lofty trees which appeared to be palm trees and had fruit which looked like very thick-shelled nuts, these they roasted and broke open and ate. Let us stop talking about the hunger and say that the very night on which they finished the bridge I and my three companions arrived with one hundred and thirty loads of maize and eighty fowls, and honey and beans, salt and eggs and fruits. Although I came at night time, and it was already dark, nearly all the soldiers were watching for the food, for they already knew that I had gone to fetch it, and Cortés had said to his Captains and soldiers that he had hope in God that they would soon all have something to eat as I had gone to Acalá to bring it, if the Indians had not killed me as they had killed the four other Spaniards he had sent out.

So as I arrived with the maize and provisions at the bridge when it was night time, the soldiers fell on it and seized it all and left nothing at all for Cortés and his Captains. There were shouts of "Leave this, for it is for the Captain Cortés," so too his Mayordomo Carranza (for so he was called) and the steward Guinea cried out, grasping the maize in their arms and saying that they must leave at least one load for them, but as it was night time the soldiers told him "You and Cortés have

been eating fat pigs" and they did not mind a bit what was said, but seized all of it. When Cortés heard how they had seized it and left nothing for him he cursed with impatience and stamped his foot, and was so furious that he said he would make enquiry who had taken it, and they told him what was said about the pigs, and when he saw and reflected that his anger was useless and merely "lifting up his voice in the wilderness" he ordered me to be called, and asked me very angrily why I had not guarded the provisions better. I replied that His Excellency should have endeavoured to send guards ahead to take charge of them, but that even had he himself been in charge of them they would have been seized, for God preserve him from hunger which respects no laws. When he saw that matters could not be mended, and he was in great need [of food], he flattered me with honeyed words in the presence of Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval and said :—"Oh Señor and brother Bernal Días del Castillo, for love of me, if you have left anything hidden on the road share it with me. I have great belief in your forethought, and that you have brought something for yourself and for your friend Sandoval." When I heard his words and noted the way in which he spoke them, I was sorry for him, and Sandoval also said to me, "I swear that I too have not a handful of maize with which to make Cazalote." Then I thought it over and said that it would be all right, and to-night towards dawn when the camp was asleep we would go for twelve loads of maize and twenty fowls and three jars of honey and beans and salt, and the two Indian women who had been given to me in those pueblos to make bread, but we must go by night lest the provisions be snatched from us on the road, and I would divide the food between His Excellency and Sandoval and myself and my people. Cortés was freed

from anxiety and he embraced me, and Sandoval said that he wished to go with me that night for the food; so we brought it and their hunger was appeased, and I also gave Sandoval one of the Indian women. All this I call to mind so that it may be understood what hardships Captains go through in new countries, and that even for Cortés, who was so greatly feared, they [his followers] left no maize to eat, and that the Captain Sandoval went with me himself to bring his share of the food, and would trust no one else, although he had many soldiers whom he could have sent.

Let us cease talking about the great labour in building the bridge, and of the hunger we went through, and I will tell how at the distance of a league we came on the very bad swamps already mentioned, and they were of such a nature that they could not attempt to place timber or branches or employ other devices to enable the horses to pass, and they sank in the mire of the great swamps until their whole bodies were submerged, and we thought that not one would escape, but all would be left there dead. Still we persisted in going forward, because about half a crossbow shot ahead there was firm ground and a good road, and we made a passage through this swamp of mud and water, which they got through without too much difficulty although at times they were half swimming in that swamp and water. As soon as we reached dry land we gave thanks to God for it, and Cortés promptly ordered me to return in haste to Acalá and impress strongly on the Caciques that they should keep the peace, and should at once send provisions along the road. This I did, and the very day that I arrived at Acalá I sent by night three Spaniards who accompanied me with over one hundred Indians laden with maize and other things. And when Cortés sent me for this purpose I said to

him that he should take care that His Excellency in person should take charge of the food, so that it should not be seized as on the last occasion; this he did, and went ahead together with Sandoval and Luis Marin and took possession of all of it and divided it up, and the next day about midday they reached Acalá, and the Caciques went to bid him welcome and carried food to him, and I will leave them there and will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

What Cortés attended to after reaching Acalá, and how, in another pueblo further ahead, subject to this same Acalá, he ordered Guatemoc the Great Cacique of Mexico, and another Cacique, the lord of Tacuba, to be hanged, and the reason why he did it, and other things that happened.

WHEN Cortés had arrived at Gueyacala—for so it is called—the Caciques of that pueblo approached him peaceably and he spoke to them through Doña Marina the interpreter in such a way that to all appearance they were satisfied, and Cortés gave them articles from Spain, and they brought maize and provisions, and then he ordered all the Caciques to be summoned and asked them for information about the road we had to take, and questioned them whether they knew of other men with beards like us and with horses, and whether they had seen ships sailing on the sea. They replied that eight days' journey from there were many men with beards, and women from Castile, and horses and three Acales, for in their language they call ships Acales. Cortés was delighted to hear this news, and, on asking about the pueblos and the road along which we must go, they brought it to him all drawn on some cloths, even to

the rivers and swamps and miry places, and he begged them to build bridges over the rivers and to bring canoes, for they had numerous followers and there were populous villages. The Caciques replied that because there were more than twenty pueblos, most of which would not obey them, especially certain pueblos situated between some rivers, it was necessary for Cortés at once to send some of his Teules (for so they called the soldiers) to make them bring maize and other things, and order them to obey them [the Caciques], for they were their subjects.

When Cortés understood this, he at once summoned a certain Diego de Mazariegos (a cousin of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada who was left as governor in Mexico) and in order that he might see and understand that he (Cortés) held him in great esteem, he honoured him by sending him as Captain against those pueblos and others in the neighbourhood, and when he despatched him he told him secretly that as he did not well understand the ways of the country, being newly arrived from Castile, and had not so much experience in dealing with Indians, he should take me in his company and not swerve from what I advised. This he did, and I should not write this in my story so that I might appear to boast of it, and I would not write it down but that it was made known throughout the camp, and later on I have even seen it engrossed in certain letters and reports which Cortés wrote to His Majesty informing him of all that happened during this journey in the Indies, and for this reason I write it down.

To return to my story, we started with Mazariegos, a company of eighty soldiers in canoes which the Caciques gave us, and when we arrived at the villages, all with the utmost willingness gave us of what they possessed, and we brought back over one hundred canoes with maize

and supplies, and fowls, honey and salt, and ten Indian women whom they held as slaves, and the Caciques came to see Cortés. So the whole camp had plenty to eat, and within four days nearly all the Caciques took to flight and only three of the guides remained with whom we set out on the road.

We crossed two rivers, one on bridges which promptly broke down on our crossing them, and the other on rafts, and we went to another pueblo subject to Acalá, which was already abandoned, and there we searched for food which had been hidden away in the forest.

Let us cease talking about our hardships and journey and I will relate how Guatemoc the great Cacique of Mexico, and other Mexican chieftains who accompanied us, had been deliberating or had arranged to kill us all and return to Mexico, and when they had reached their city to unite all their great forces and attack those [Spaniards] who remained in Mexico.

Those who made this known to Cortés were two great Caciques named Tápia and Juan Velásquez: this Juan Velásquez was Guatemoc's Captain-General when they were fighting us in Mexico. When this came to the knowledge of Cortés he had the evidence taken down [in writing] not only of the two who revealed the plot, but of other Caciques who were involved in it. What they confessed was, that as they saw us travelling over the roads carelessly and discontentedly, and many soldiers suffering from illness, and that food was always wanting, and that the four players on the oboe, and the acrobat, and eleven or twelve soldiers, had already died of hunger; and three other soldiers had fled back on the way to Mexico and had taken their chance of a state of war along the road by which we had come, and preferred to die rather than continue the advance; it would be a favourable opportunity to attack us when

we were crossing some river or swamp, for the Mexicans numbered three thousand, bearing arms and lances, and some of them had swords. Guatemoc confessed that it was as the others had said, but the plot was not hatched by him, and he did not know if they were all privy to it or would bring it to pass, that he never thought to carry it out but only [joined in] the talk there was about it. The Cacique of Tacuba stated that he and Guatemoc had said that it were better to die once for all than die every day on the journey, considering how their followers and kinsmen were suffering famine.

Without awaiting further proofs Cortés ordered Guatemoc and his cousin the Lord of Tacuba to be hanged; and before they were hanged the Franciscan Friars aided them and commended them to God through the interpreter Doña Marina.

When they were about to hang him, Guatemoc said "Oh! Malinche I have long known that you meant to kill me and I have understood your false speeches for you kill me unjustly, and God will call you to account for it, for I did not do myself justice when you delivered yourself to me [into my hands] in my city of Mexico." The Lord of Tacuba said that death was welcome, dying as he did with his Lord Guatemoc. Before they were hanged the Franciscan Friars confessed them through the interpreter Doña Marina.

In truth I grieved keenly for Guatemoc and his cousin, having known them as such great lords, and they had even done me honour during the journey when occasion offered, especially in giving me Indians to bring forage for my horse, and this death which they suffered very unjustly was considered wrong by all those who were with us.

Let us turn to continue our march, which we did with the greatest caution from fear lest the Mexicans seeing

their chieftains hanged, should rise in revolt; however, they were bearing such sufferings through hunger and sickness that they could give no thought to it. After the chieftains had been hanged as I have related, we at once continued our march towards another small pueblo, and before entering it we passed a deep river on rafts and found the town uninhabited, for the people had fled that day. We searched for food among the farms and we found eight Indians who were priests of Idols, and they willingly returned to their pueblo with us. Cortés told them through Doña Marina to summon the inhabitants and to have no fear, but to bring us food. They replied to Cortés begging him to give orders that no one should go near some Idols, which were close to a house where Cortés was lodged, and they would bring food and do all they were able. Cortés told them he would do what they requested and nothing should happen to the Idols, but "why did they care for such Idols which were made of clay and old wood for they were evil things which deceived them?" and he preached such [convincing] things through the Friars and Doña Marina, that they replied favourably to what he said, and [declared] they would abandon them, and they brought twenty loads of maize and some fowls.

Cortés then asked them how many days journey from there were there men with beards like us, and they replied seven days journey, and that the pueblo where the men with horses lived was called Nito, and that they would go as guides as far as the next pueblo, but we should have to sleep one night in an uninhabited country before reaching it.

Cortés ordered them to make a cross on a very large tree called a Ceiba which stood near the houses where they had their Idols.

I also wish to say that Cortés was in a bad humour,

and even very regretful and discontented at the hardships of the journey we had undertaken, and because of having ordered Guatemoc and his cousin the Lord of Tacuba to be hanged, and at the daily hunger, and the sickness and death of so many Mexicans, and it appears that he did not rest at night through thinking about it, but got up from his bed where he slept to walk about in a room where the Idols stood, which was the principal apartment of that small pueblo where they kept other Idols, and he was careless and fell. It was a fall of more than twice the height of a man and he injured his head, but he kept quiet and said nothing about it only tended the wound and endured and suffered it all. The next day very early in the morning we began to march with our guides without anything happening worth recording, and slept by a lagoon near some forests, and the next day we continued our march and about the time of high mass arrived at a new pueblo, and its inhabitants had deserted it that same day and taken refuge in some swamps. The houses had been newly built only a few days before, and in the town were many barricades of thick beams and all surrounded by other beams of great strength, and there were deep ditches in front of the entrance, and inside two fences, one like a barbican with towers and loopholes, and in one part in place of a fence were some very lofty rocks full of stones fashioned by hand, with great breastworks, and on the other side was a great swamp which was [as good as] a fortress.

When we entered the houses we found so many turkeys and fowls cooked in the way the Indians eat them, with chili peppers and maize cakes—which among them are called 'tamales'—that on the one hand we wondered at so novel an event, and on the other we were delighted at the plentiful food. We also found a large house full of small lances and arrows, and we searched the neighbour-

hood of that town for maize plantations and people, but found none, not even a grain of maize.

While we were thus situated, fifteen Indians approached from the swamps and they were the chieftains of that town, and they placed their hands on the ground and kissed the earth and said, half weeping, to Cortés, that they begged as a favour that he would not allow anything in the pueblo to be burned, because they were but newly arrived there and had to fortify it on account of their enemies, (who it seems to me that they said were called Lacandones,) who had burnt and destroyed the two pueblos where they had lived, and had robbed them and killed many of their people. These pueblos we would see further along the road we must follow, which was [over] a very level country, and they then gave an account of how and in what manner they [the Lacandones] attacked them and why they were their enemies.

Cortés asked them how it happened that they had so many turkeys and fowls ready cooked, and they replied that they were hourly expecting their enemies to come and attack them, and, that if they were conquered, the enemy would be sure to seize their goods and their poultry and carry them off captive, and so that they should not do that or have the benefit of them, they wished to eat them first; [on the other hand] if they defeated their enemies they would go to their pueblos and seize their goods.

Cortés said that he was sorry for it and for their war, but as he must continue his march he could not mend matters.

This pueblo and other great settlements which we passed the next day are called the Mazatecas, which in their tongue means the pueblos or lands of deer, and they have good reason for giving that name as what I will relate later shows. Two of these Indians accom-

panied us and showed us their burnt townships and gave information to Cortés about the Spaniards who were on ahead of us. I will leave off here and relate how the next day we left that pueblo, and what else happened on the journey.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

How we went on our way, and what happened to us.

WHEN we left the "fenced pueblo" (for so we called it), we entered from there onwards on a good and flat road all through treeless savannahs with a sun so hot and strong that greater noontide heat we had never felt throughout our march. As we went along those flat plains we saw many deer and they hardly ran at all, so that we soon overtook them on horseback, however little we raced after them, and over twenty of them were killed.

On asking the guides we had with us why the deer ran so little, and why they were not frightened at the horses nor at anything else, they replied that in those pueblos, which I have already said they call the Mazatecas, they are considered to be gods, because gods have appeared in their shape, and their Idol has commanded them not to kill or frighten them, and they have not done so, and this is the reason why they do not run away.

During that chase the horse of a relation of Cortés, named Palacios Rubios, died, for the fat of his body melted from having galloped so much.

Let us leave this chase and I will say that we soon reached the settlements already mentioned by me, and it was sad to see them all destroyed and burnt. As we went on our way, as Cortés always sent scouts ahead on horseback and active men on foot, they overtook two

Indians, natives of another pueblo which was ahead of us on the road we had to take, who were returning from the chase laden with a great lion and many iguanas, which are of the form of small serpents, and in these parts they are called iguanas and are very good to eat. They asked these Indians if their pueblo was near by, and they answered 'yes,' and they would guide them to the pueblo which was in a narrow strait surrounded by fresh water, and we could not reach it from the side where we were except in canoes. So we went round a little more than half a league to where there was a ford, and the water came up to one's waist, and we found more than half the inhabitants in the pueblo, and the rest had hurried away to some cane brakes which were near their plantations, where many of our soldiers slept; for by staying in the maize fields they supped well and provisioned themselves for some days. We took guides for another pueblo, and were two days in reaching it, and found there a great lake of fresh water full of fish which were like very tasteless shad and full of bones. With some old cloaks and some rotten nets which we found in the pueblo, which was already deserted, we caught all the fish in the pool, which numbered over a thousand.

Then we searched for guides and captured them in some cultivated land, and after Cortés had told them through Doña Marina that they must show us the way to the pueblo where there were men with beards and horses, they were delighted to find we should do them no harm, and said they would willingly show us the road, for at first they thought we wished to kill them. Five of them went with us along a broad road, but the further we advanced the narrower it became, on account of a great river and lagoon which was near to it, and it appears that they used to embark and disembark from canoes and go on to that pueblo

To face p. 33.

Tayasal (Flores) Lake of Peten-Itzá.

From Photo by A. P. M.

named Tayasal, whither we were bound, which stood on an island surrounded by water, and it could not be reached by land, but only in canoes. The houses and oratories were whitewashed so that they could be seen for more than two leagues. It was the capital of other small pueblos which were near to it.

To go back to my story, when we saw that the broad road which we had hitherto followed changed to a very narrow pathway, we fully understood that the way was by the lagoon and the guides we brought with us told us that it was so. We decided to sleep near to some thick forest, and that night four companies of soldiers went along the paths which led to the lagoon to capture guides, and it pleased God that they captured two canoes laden with maize and salt, with ten Indians and two women, and they at once took them to Cortés, who coaxed them and spoke very affectionately to them through the interpreter Doña Marina. They stated that they were natives of the pueblo on the small island, and they explained by signs that it was distant about four leagues. Cortés promptly ordered that the larger canoe with four Indians and the two women should remain with us, and he sent the other canoe to the pueblo with six Indians and two Spaniards to ask the Cacique to bring canoes for the passage of the river, and [to say] that no annoyance would be given him, and he sent him some beads from Castile. We at once set out on our way by land towards the great river, and the one canoe went by the lagoon to reach the river, and the Cacique was already there with many other chieftains waiting with five canoes to pass us across, and they brought four chickens and maize.

Cortés showed them great goodwill, and after much persuasion by the Caciques he agreed to go with them to their pueblo in those canoes, and he took with him

thirty Crossbowmen, and when he arrived at the houses they gave him food to eat, and even brought gold, which was of poor quality and little value, and some cloths; and they told him that there were Spaniards the same as ourselves in two pueblos. One I have already said was called Nito, which is at San Gil de Buena Vista near the Golfo Dulce, and they then gave him the news that there were many other Spaniards at Naco, and that it was ten days' journey from one pueblo to the other, that Nito was on the North Coast and Naco inland.

Cortés said to us that perhaps Cristóbal de Olid had divided his people among two towns, for at that time we knew nothing of the people of Gil González de Ávila who settled at San Gil de Buena Vista.

To return to our journey we all crossed that great river in canoes and slept about three leagues beyond, and we marched no further because we were waiting for Cortés who was coming from the pueblo of Tayasal. As soon as he arrived, he ordered us to leave at that pueblo a black horse which was ill from the chase after deer, and the fat of its body had melted and it could not stand upright.[1]

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[1] The fate of this horse is interesting :—

In 1618 the Padres Bartolomé de Fuensalida and Juan de Orbita set out from Merida on a Missionary expedition to Peten by way of Tipu, then the Spanish outpost in Yucatan, situated on the Rio Hondo, near the present frontier of British Honduras, and within a few days' march of the Lake of Peten.

On reaching Tayasal the missionaries were well received by the Chief of the Itzáes, and on the day after their arrival were conducted round the town.

"The Padres estimated the number of houses at about two hundred; these stood along the shore of the lagoon at a little distance from one another, and in each of them dwelt parents and sons with their families. On the higher ground in the middle of the island stood the Cués or oratories, where they kept their Idols. They (the padres) went to see them and found twelve or more temples equal in size and capacity to any of the churches in this province of Yucatan, and according to their account each one could hold more than a thousand persons. In the middle of one of these temples there

At this pueblo a negro and two Indian servants ran away, and three Spaniards remained behind, who were not missed until three days later; they preferred to stay among enemies than to go with us through such hardships. This day I was very ill with fever and from

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was a great Idol in the form of a horse, made of stone and cement. It was seated on the floor of the temple on its haunches, with its hind legs bent under it, raising itself on its fore legs. It was worshipped as the God of Thunder and called Tzimin Chac, which means the horse of thunder or the thunderbolt. The reason why they possessed this Idol was that when Don Fernando Cortés passed through this land on his way to Honduras, he left behind him a horse which could travel no further. As the horse died the Indians, terrified at the thought of not being able to give it up alive should Cortés by chance return that way and ask them for it, had a statue made of the horse and began to hold it in veneration, so that it might be clear that they were not to blame for its death.

"Believing the horse to be an intelligent being, they gave it to eat chickens and other meat, and offered it garlands of flowers as they were wont to do to their own chieftains. All these honours, for such they were in their sight, helped to bring about the death of the poor horse, for he died of hunger. It was given its name (the God of the Thunderbolt) because they had seen some of the Spaniards discharging their arquebuses or guns when on horseback hunting the deer, and they believed that the horses were the cause of the noise, which appeared to them like thunder, and the flash from the muzzle of the gun and the smoke of the powder they mistook for lightning. Upon this the devil took advantage of the blindness of their superstition so to increase the veneration in which the statue was held that, by the time the missionaries arrived, this Idol had become the principal object of their adoration.

"As soon as the Padre Fray Juan de Orbita caught sight of the Idol (says the Padre Fuensalida) it seemed as if the Spirit of Our Lord had descended on him, for, carried away by a fervid and courageous zeal for the glory of God, he took a great stone in his hand, climbed to the top of the statue of the horse and battered it to pieces, scattering the fragments on the ground." (From *Cogolludo's History of Yucatan*, 1688.)

This act naturally roused the anger of the Indians, who, however, refrained from attacking the missionaries, but a few days later the Padres, finding that their preaching was of no effect, left the island and returned to Tipu.

I may add that the tradition still exists in the locality, for when crossing the lake my Indian canoemen told me that had the water been clear I might have seen a white horse at the bottom of the lake. The description of the temples as holding a thousand persons, unless the courtyards of the temples were included, must have been a gross exaggeration.

A. P. M.

the heat of the sun, which had penetrated my head and all my body.

I have already said the sun was very fierce, and the reason became apparent, because presently it began to rain in floods and it never ceased raining for three days and nights, but we did not halt on the road because, although we might have wished to wait for better weather, we had no supply of maize, and for fear of it failing us we kept on our way.

To go back to my story: After two days we came to a range of hills which was not very lofty, and consisted of stones which cut like knives, and although our soldiers went more than a league on one side and the other in search of another road so as to avoid that Sierra de los Pedernales they could not find another road, and we had to follow on the way we were going; but those stones did much damage to the horses, for as it rained they slipped and fell and cut their hind and fore legs and even their bodies, and the further we went the worse were the stones and, when we reached the descent from these hills, two horses were left there dead, and most of those which escaped were hocked.

A soldier named Palacios Rubio, a kinsman of Cortés, broke his leg, and when we found ourselves free from that Sierra de los Pedernales, for so we called it thenceforward, we gave many thanks and much praise to God. When at last we approached a pueblo called Tayca, we even rejoiced, thinking to find food. Before reaching it there was a river which flowed from a range between great rocky cliffs and precipices, and as it had rained for three nights it came down so furiously and with such an uproar, one could hear it two leagues off falling among the rocks: in addition to this it ran very deep and it was impossible to ford it. We determined to make a bridge from one cliff to the other, and we put

such haste into getting it finished with very thick tree trunks that in three days we began the passage to the pueblo. As we had to delay there for three days making the bridge, the native Indians had time to hide their maize and all their provisions, and place themselves in safety, so that we could not find them anywhere round about. On account of the hunger that was already wearing us out we were all dazed with thinking of food. I say assuredly that never had I felt such grief in my heart as we all suffered then, seeing that neither had I myself anything to eat or [food] to give to my men, besides being ill with fever. We searched for food diligently throughout the neighbourhood within two leagues of the pueblo, and this was on the eve of the festival of the holy resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Let my readers think what sort of Easter we should pass with nothing to eat, and we should have been very contented with [only] maize.

When Cortés observed the state of things, he at once, on the first day of Easter, sent off his servants and grooms with the guides to search for maize through the woods and plantations, and they brought in a matter of a fanega.[1] And when Cortés saw the extreme necessity, he ordered certain soldiers to be summoned, nearly all of them settlers from Coatzacoalcos, and among them he named me, and he said to us that he prayed us earnestly to turn the country upside down in our search for food, for we could see in what a condition the whole camp found itself. At that time when Cortés was giving us our orders, there stood before Cortés one Pedro de Ircio who was a great talker, and he begged Cortés to send him as our Captain, and Cortés replied—"Go and good luck to you." When I understood this, knowing that

[1] About eight bushels.

Pedro de Ircio could not march on foot and would hinder rather than aid us, I said secretly to Cortés and to Captain Sandoval that Pedro de Ircio had better not go, because he was not able to march through the mud and swamps with us for he had a game leg, and he was no good for that sort of thing, but only for talking a lot, and not fit to go on expeditions, and that he would stop or sit down on the road from time to time. So Cortés promptly ordered that he should remain behind, and we set out five soldiers and two guides through two rivers, both very deep, and after we had crossed the rivers we came on to some swamps and then into some farms where most of the people of the pueblo had collected, and there we found four houses full of maize and beans in quantity, and over thirty chickens and melons of the country which they call ayotes,[1] and we seized four Indians and three women, and we had a fine Easter. That night more than a thousand Mexicans, whom Cortés ordered to go after us and follow us so that they should get something to eat, arrived at the farms, and all of us, very jubilantly, loaded the Mexicans with all the maize they could carry for Cortés to apportion, and we also sent for him and Sandoval twenty fowls and the Indians and Indian women. We remained to guard two of the houses full of maize, lest the natives of the pueblo should burn them or carry it off during the night.

The next day we went on ahead with other guides and came on other farms where there was maize and poultry and different sorts of vegetables, and I at once wrote[2] to Cortés to send me many Indians for I had found other farms, and how I had sent him the Indian

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[1] Pumpkins.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "I made ink [and wrote] on the skin of a drum."

men and women already mentioned, and all the camp heard about it.

The next day more than thirty soldiers and five hundred Indians arrived, and all carried away provisions, and in this way, thanks to God, the camp was supplied.

In that pueblo, which I have already said was called Tayca, we stayed five days.

Let us leave this, for I wish to mention how we made this bridge, and all along the journey we had made great bridges as I have already stated. Later on when those lands and provinces were pacified, the Spaniards who passed along those roads found, and still find at the present time, some of the bridges undestroyed after so many years have passed, and wonder at the great tree trunks which we placed in them, and now they are in the habit of saying "Here are the bridges of Cortés," as though they were saying "Here are the Pillars of Hercules."

Let us leave these reminiscences, for they do not belong to our story, and I will relate how we went on our way to another pueblo called Tania, and we were two days reaching it and found it deserted, and we searched for food and found maize and other vegetables but not very plentiful, and we went about the neighbourhood looking for roads and found nothing but rivers and brooks, and the guides, whom we had brought from the pueblo we had left behind, ran away one night from certain soldiers who guarded them, who were newcomers from Castile and who apparently had fallen asleep. As soon as Cortés knew of it he wished to punish the soldiers for it, but owing to entreaties he let it alone. Then he sent to search for guides and a road. It was useless to look for them by dry land, for the pueblo was altogether surrounded by rivers and streams and we were unable to capture any Indian men or women, and in addition

to this it rained continuously, and we could not make a stand against so much wet. Cortés and all of us were horrified and distressed at not knowing or finding a road by which we could travel, and then Cortés said very angrily to Pedro de Ircio and other Captains who were of the Mexican company "I wish now that there was somebody to say that he would like to go and search for guides and a road, and not leave everything to the settlers from Coatzacoalcos." When Pedro de Ircio heard those words he got ready with six soldiers, his companions and friends, and went off in one direction, and Francisco Marmolejo, who was a person of quality, with other six soldiers went in another, and a certain Santa Cruz Burgalés, who was regidor of Mexico, went in another direction with other soldiers, and they all walked the whole of three days and found neither guides nor a road—nothing but streams and rivers. When they had returned without any supplies, Cortés nearly burst with rage and asked Sandoval to tell me the great straits we were in, and to beg me on his behalf to go and look for guides and a road, and he said this with affectionate expressions like entreaties, because he knew for certain that I was ill.[1] They had already named me before Sandoval spoke to me, to go with Francisco Marmolejo who was my friend, and I said I could not go because I was ill and tired, and that they always put all the work on me and they could send someone else. Then Sandoval came again to my ranch and implored me to go with two companions whom I might choose myself, for Cortés said that after God he had faith in me to bring provisions, and although I was ill I could not permit myself to be shamed, and asked that a certain Hernando

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "as I have already said I still had fever and was feeling ill."

de Aguilar and one Ynojosa should go with me, as I knew they were men who could endure hardships. So we all three set out and followed down some streams, and away from the streams in the bush there were some signs of cut branches, and we followed that trail more than a league, and at last we left the stream and came on some small ranchos which had been deserted that day, and following the trail we saw on a hill in the distance some maize plantations and a house, and we observed people in it. As the sun had already set, we stayed in the wood until the night was well advanced, and it seemed to us the inhabitants of those maize plantations should be asleep, so keeping very quiet we came very suddenly on the house and captured three Indians and two women, young and good-looking for Indians, and one old woman. They owned two fowls and a little maize, and we carried off the maize and fowls and the Indian men and women, and very cheerfully returned to camp. When Sandoval knew it, and he was the first found waiting for us on the road at the close of the day, we went before Cortés, who valued it more than if we had given him a much greater thing. Then Sandoval said to Pedro de Ircio, who had come with him, before many of the gentlemen—"It seems to us Señor Pedro de Ircio that Bernal Díaz was right the other day when he went to search for maize, that he only wished to go with men, and not with one who would go all the way very slowly, relating what happened to the Conde Durueña and Don Pedro Giron his son (for these were stories Pedro de Ircio told many times), and you have no reason to complain saying that he stirs up trouble with the Señor Captain and with me." They all laughed at this, and Sandoval said it because Pedro de Ircio was unfriendly to me.

Then Cortés thanked me for it and said it ever happened that I had to bring in provisions, and "I pledge

you this (meaning his beard) that I will remember your honour."

I must leave these flatteries, for they are hollow and bring no profit, but others repeated them in Mexico when they told the story of this toilsome journey. I must go back to say that Cortés sought information from the guides and the two women, and all agreed that we must go down stream to a pueblo which was distant two days' march, and the name of the pueblo was said to be Oculizte, which contained more than two hundred houses and had been deserted a few days before.

As we went on our way down stream we came on some large ranchos which were used by Indian traders when they are travelling. There we slept and the next day we followed the same river and water-course, and after following it for about half a league we came upon a good road, and that day arrived at the pueblo of Oculizte, where there was plenty of maize and vegetables. In a house which was a shrine of their Idols was found an old red cap and a hempen shoe as an offering to the Idols. Some soldiers who went through the farms brought to Cortés two old Indians and four women whom they had captured in the maize fields belonging to the pueblo, and Cortés questioned them through the interpreter Doña Marina about the road, and how far off the Spaniards were, and they replied "two days," and that there was no inhabited land until we arrived there, and that they [the Spaniards] have their houses near the sea coast.

Then Cortés instantly ordered Sandoval to proceed on foot with six other soldiers and find his way to the sea, and by some means or other to enquire and to find out whether there were many Spaniards who were settled there with Cristóbal de Olid, for at that time we did not believe there could be any other Captain in that country.

Cortés wanted to know this so that we might fall on Cristóbal de Olid in the night if he were there, and might capture him and his soldiers.

Gonzalo de Sandoval set out with the six soldiers and three Indians as guides whom he took for that purpose from the pueblo of Oculizte, and as he went along the north coast he saw a canoe rowing and sailing swiftly over the sea, and he hid himself during the day in the forest, for they saw that the canoe which was coming over the sea belonged to Indian traders, and it was coasting along and bringing salt and maize as merchandize and was about to enter into the great river of the Golfo Dulce, and during the night they [the Spaniards] took possession of it in a bay which was a canoe harbour, and Sandoval got into the canoe with two of his companions and the Indian rowers who had brought the canoe and his three guides, and set off along the coast, the rest of the soldiers going by land, for they knew that the great river was near by. When they were close to the great river, as chance would have it, four settlers and a Cuban Indian from the town which had been settled by the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had come that morning in a canoe, and crossed to that side of the river in search of a fruit which they call zapotes, to be eaten when roasted, for in the town whence they came they were enduring great hunger because most of them were ill, and [they] did not dare to go out in search of food among the pueblos because the Indians in the neighbourhood had made war on them and killed six soldiers since Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had left them there.

While these followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila were pulling down zapotes from the tree, and two of the men were up the tree, when they saw a canoe coming along the sea in which were Sandoval and his two companions, they were startled and marvelled at such a novel sight,

and did not know whether to stay or flee. When Sandoval approached them he told them to have no fear as they were men of peace, so they stood quiet but very much terrified. After Sandoval and his companions had been fully informed by the two Spaniards, how and in what way the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had been settled there, and of the ill fate of the Armada of Las Casas, which was lost; and how Cristóbal de Olid had made prisoners of Las Casas and Gil Gonzáles de Ávila; and how they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid at Naco in execution of the sentence then pronounced against him; and how they had already set off for Mexico; they learned who and how many were in the town and the great hunger they were enduring, and how a few days earlier they had hanged in that town the Lieutenant and leader, a man named Armenta, whom Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had left there; and the reason why they hanged him, which was because he would not let them go to Cuba. Sandoval determined to carry those men at once to Cortés, and not to attract attention or go to the town without him, in order that he [Cortés] should receive the information from these men in person. Then a soldier named Alonzo Ortiz, who was afterwards a settler at a town called San Pedro, begged Sandoval to do him the favour of permitting him to go on one hour ahead to take the news to Cortés and all of us who were with him, so that he might get a reward. This he did and Cortés and all the camp were delighted at the news, believing that there would come an end to all the hardships we were suffering, but they were to increase twofold as I shall tell later on. To Alonzo Ortiz who carried the news Cortés gave a very good chestnut horse called Cabeza de Moro,[1] and we all gave him something from what we still possessed. Then Captain

[1] The Moor's Head.

Sandoval arrived with the soldiers and the Cuban Indian, and they gave a report to Cortés of all I have stated, and many other things which they were asked about. As they owned at that town a ship, which was being caulked in a harbour about half a league distant, which had room enough in it for all of them to embark and go to Cuba, and because the lieutenant Armenta had not let them embark, they had hanged him, also because he had ordered a cleric who revolutionized the town to be flogged; and they chose for lieutenant one Antonio Nieto in place of Armenta whom they had hanged.

Let us stop talking about the news brought by the two Spaniards, and I will speak of the lamentations they raised in that town when they knew that the two settlers and the Cuban Indian who had gone to search for zapote fruit (for so they call it) had not returned, and they believed they had been killed by Indians or by lions or tigers. One of the settlers was married and his wife wept much for him, and the priest named the Bachelor Fulano Valásquez and all the settlers assembled in the Church and prayed God to help them and deliver them from further misfortune, and the woman was all the time praying God for the soul of her husband.

To go back to my story. Cortés promptly ordered the whole army to go along the road by the sea, a distance of six leagues. There was yet on the road a very swollen lagoon which rose and fell with the tide, and we waited half a day for the water to fall and crossed it jumping and swimming and reached the great river of the Golfo Dulce.

The first to go to the town, which was two leagues distant, was Cortés himself with six soldiers and two pages. He set out in two canoes tied together, the one in which the two soldiers of Gil Gonzáles had come to search for zapotes, and the other which Sandoval had taken from the Indians on the coast, and as it was necessary to

conceal it they had stuck it in the ground and hidden it in the bush. They went to launch it in the water and tied the two one to the other so that they were well secured, and in them Cortés and his servants crossed over, and then with the same canoes he ordered two horses to be sent over, and it was done in this manner: the canoes were paddled, and the horses, tied by their halters, swam near the canoes, and care had to be taken not to give too much rope to the horse lest it should upset the canoe. Cortés sent to say that, until we received an order or a letter from him, none of us were to cross in these same canoes on account of the great risk of the passage, for he had repented of going in them himself as the river came down with such great fury. I will leave off here and then go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

How Cortés entered the town where the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila were settled, and about the great joy shown by all the inhabitants, and what Cortés decreed.

AFTER Cortés had crossed the great river of the Golfo Dulce in the way I have related, he went to the town where the Spaniards of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila were settled, about two leagues distant and close to the sea, and not to where they made their first settlement named San Gil de Buena Vista.[1]

When these saw a man on horseback and six others on foot among their houses, they were greatly startled, and when they knew that it was Cortés who was so renowned throughout the Indies and in Castile they were beside themselves with delight. After all the caciques had come to kiss his hand and give him a welcome

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[1] Nito, in the Fifth letter of Cortés.

Cortés addressed them very affectionately and instructed the Lieutenant, who was called Nieto, to go to where they careened the ship and bring the two boats they possessed, and if there were any canoes to bring them also, tied two and two, and he ordered them to collect all the cassava bread in the place and take it to Captain Sandoval (for they had no maize bread), that it might be divided and eaten by all of us belonging to his army. The Lieutenant promptly searched but did not find so much as fifty pounds of it, for they lived only on roasted zapotes, vegetables, and some shell fish which they fished for, and even the cassava which they gave us they were preserving as stores for the voyage to Cuba when the ship should have been calked.

By the two boats and eight sailors who came promptly, Cortés at once wrote to Sandoval that he personally and Captain Luis Marin should be the last to cross that great river, and that they should see to it that only those whom he ordered to do so should embark, and that the boats should not be overladen on account of the great current of the river which was coming down greatly swollen and very rapid, and that two horses [should be carried] by each boat, but that no horse should be brought in the canoes, lest it should be lost and the canoes overturned by the raging stream.

About the question of precedence in crossing over, a man named Sayavedra, and his brother Avalos, relations of Cortés, claimed to cross over first, notwithstanding Sandoval's decision that the Franciscan friars (because they were entitled to consideration in the first place) should cross in the first boatload ; but as Sayavedra was a relative of Cortés, and inspired by Lucifer with a desire to command, he did not like Sandoval's raising objections, and wished him to hold his tongue and [therefore] answered him less respectfully than was proper. Sandoval

would not put up with it, and they had words, so much so, that Sayavedra plucked out his dagger, and as Sandoval was standing in the river knee deep in water preventing the boats from being overladen, he seized Sayavedra just as he stood, and caught hold of his hand which held the dagger and flung him into the water, and if we had not promptly thrown ourselves between them and parted them, certainly Sayavedra would have come out of it badly, for nearly all of us soldiers were openly on the side of Sandoval.

Let us leave this dispute and I will state that we were four days in crossing that river, and as for food it was useless to think about it, were it not for some "pacayas" which grow on certain small palms, and other things like nuts which we roasted and broke open, and ate the kernels of them.

One soldier with his horse was drowned in that river; the soldier's name was Tarifa, and he crossed over in a canoe and never appeared again, neither he nor his horse. Two horses were also drowned, one belonging to a soldier called Solis Casquete, who growled about it and cursed Cortés and his journey.

I wish to speak about the great hunger we endured at the passage of the river, and the grumbling against Cortés and his expedition, and even against all of us who were his followers; for when we arrived at the pueblo there was not a mouthful of cassava to eat, and even the people in the neighbourhood had none, and they did not know the roads except to two pueblos which used to be close by, but were already deserted.

Cortés next ordered Captain Luis Marin to set out with the settlers from Coatzacoalcos and search for maize, which I will go on to tell about.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

How the day after arriving at that town, which I know by no other name than that of San Gil de Buena Vista, we set out with Captain Luis Marin and nearly eighty soldiers, all on foot, to search for maize and explore the country, and what happened I will go on to relate.

I HAVE already said that when we reached the town which Gil Gonzáles de Ávila founded, there was nothing to eat, and there were nearly forty men and four Castilian women and two Mulatto women, and all were ill and very yellow in colour. And as neither we nor they had anything to eat, we could barely await the hour to go and look for it.

Cortés ordered Captain Luis Marin to set out and search for maize, and more than eighty of us foot soldiers went with him to find out if there were roads fit for horses, and we took with us a Cuban Indian who guided us to some farms and pueblos eight leagues distant, where we found much maize and very numerous cacao plantations, and frijoles and other vegetables, where we had plenty to eat and we even sent to say that he [Cortés] should send all the Mexican Indians to carry maize, and we relieved him immediately with ten fanegas of it by means of other Indians, and we sent for our horses.

As soon as Cortés knew that we were in a good country, and learned from Indian merchants, whom they had just then captured in the River of the Golfo Dulce, that the place where we were was on the direct way to Naco, where they beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, he sent Sandoval with the greater part of his army to follow us, and ordered us all to stay in that camp until we received his orders. When Sandoval arrived where we were and saw that there was abundance of food, he was delighted, and promptly sent to

Cortés over thirty fanegas of maize by some Mexican Indians, and he divided it among the settlers who remained in the town, and, as they were ravenous and accustomed to eat only roasted zapotes and cassava, they gorged themselves on tortillas made from the maize we sent them, until their bellies swelled, and, as they were [already] enfeebled, seven of them died. When they were in the condition I have described, it pleased God that a ship arrived in port which came from the Island of Cuba laden with seven horses, forty hogs and eight casks of salt meat and cassava bread, and about fifteen passengers came in her, and eight sailors, and the owner of most of the cargo of that ship was called Anton de Carmona the buskin maker. Cortés bought on credit all the supplies that came in it, and he divided part of them among the settlers and, as they had been formerly in such necessity and were run down, they gorged themselves on the salt meat and it gave many of them diarrhœa and fourteen of them died.

As that ship had arrived with men and sailors, it seemed to Cortés that it would be a good thing to go and explore and survey that mighty river, [and see] if there were towns up stream and what kind of land there was, so he promptly ordered a good launch belonging to the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, which had gone ashore, to be calked, and a boat to be repaired to serve as a lighter, and with four canoes tied one to the other, and thirty soldiers and the eight seamen from those lately arrived in the ship, and twenty Mexican Indians and Cortés himself as Captain, he went up the river. When he had proceeded a matter of ten leagues up stream, a broad lake was discovered six leagues in length and in width, and there were no villages at all around it, for it was all swampy, and going on up the river the stream became swifter than before, and there were some rapids which the launch, boats, and canoes could not ascend, so he decided to leave them there where the

stream was sluggish, with six Spaniards to guard them, and to go by land along a narrow track. He reached some small deserted villages and then came on some maize fields, and from there took three Indians as guides, and they led him to some small pueblos where there was much maize and many fowls and they even kept pheasants, which in this country they call "Sacachules," and partridges of the country and pigeons. This way of keeping partridges I saw and noticed [myself] among the pueblos in the neighbourhood of this Golfo Dulce, when I went in search of Cortés, as I shall relate further on.

To go back to my story: there Cortés captured guides and passed on and went to some other small pueblos which are called Çinacantençintle,[1] where they had great cocoa groves and maize fields and cotton, and before reaching them they heard the sound of drums and trumpets, for they were holding feasts and drunken orgies. So as not to be observed, Cortés and his soldiers remained hidden in the wood, and, as soon as he saw it was time to start, they fell upon them altogether and captured about ten Indians and fifteen women, but most of the Indians of the pueblo made off quickly to seize their arms, and returned with bows and arrows and lances, and began to shoot at our people. Cortés and his followers went against them and put to the sword eight Indians who were chieftains, and as soon as they saw how ill the fight was going, and that their women were captives, they sent four elders—and two of them were priests of Idols—and they approached very meekly to pray Cortés to give up the prisoners to them, and they brought some golden jewels of small value. Cortés spoke to them through Doña Marina who came there with her husband Juan Jaramillo, because Cortés could not understand the Indians without her,

[1] This is the pueblo called Chacujal by Cortés.

and he told them to take the maize, poultry, and salt, and all the provisions he indicated, to the place to which he explained they had come in the canoes and launches, and that then he would give up the prisoners to them. They replied that they would do so, and that near by there was a sort of creek which opened into the river, and they promptly made rafts, and, wading, they conveyed them to where they came to deep water, where they were able to float quite well. Then, although Cortés had agreed to give up all the prisoners, it appears that he ordered three of the Indian women with their husbands to stay with them, and make bread and wait on the Mexican Indians, and he would not give them up, and over this matter all the Indians of that pueblo got together and from the high banks of the river sent a great shower of darts, stones, and arrows, at Cortés and his soldiers, so that they wounded Cortés himself in the face, and a dozen of the soldiers. One boat came to grief there, and half its freight was lost and one Mexican was drowned. In that river there are so many mosquitos that they are beyond bearing, and Cortés endured it all and returned to his town (I don't know what it was named), and provisioned it much better than it had been before.

I have already stated that the pueblo which Cortés reached was named Sinacatençintla,[1] which is seventy leagues distant from Guatemala. Cortés was delayed on this journey, and he returned to the town in twenty-six days when he saw that as there were no Indian pueblos it would be no use to form a settlement there. As he was well provisioned both from what had already been collected before, and also from what he was now bringing, he decided to write to Gonzalo de Sandoval

[1] Çinacantençintle on the previous page.

to proceed at once to Naco,[1] and he told him all about his voyage on the Gulfo Dulce, just as I have related it here, and how he was going to settle at the Puerto de Caballos, and that Sandoval must send him ten soldiers who were Coatzacoalcos men, for without them he was not content when on expeditions.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

How Cortés embarked with all the soldiers, both those which he had brought in his company and those who had remained at San Gil de Buena Vista, and went to settle the place now called Puerto de Caballos, which he named La Natividad, and what he did there.

AFTER Cortés had seen that the place he found settled by the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila was of no use, he decided to embark in the two ships and the launch, with all those who were in the town, leaving none behind, and after voyaging for eight days he disembarked at what is now called Puerto de Caballos, and, when he beheld that it was a fine bay for a port and learnt that there were Indian villages near by, he decided to found a town, which he named "Natividad," and placed one Diego de Godoy in command. From this place he made two expeditions inland to some neighbouring pueblos, which are now deserted, and he learned from them that there were other pueblos near by, and

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[1] Naco was situated in an inland valley, probably between the rivers Chamelicon and Santiago, the latter a branch of the Rio Ulua, and was sixty to seventy miles distant from Puerto Caballo.

"De ay (Puerto Caballo) a la villa de San Pedro . . . . ay Catorze ó quinze leguas . . . . estan cerca de alli 4 leguas las Minas de Zula . . . . y quasi otras 4 el Valle de Naco . . . este Valle de Naco es muy llano y fertil corcado todo de Sierras." (*Relacion de la Provincia de Honduras y Higueras por el Obispo D. Cristóbal de Pedraza*, 1544 ; *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. i, p. 398.)

he supplied the town [Natividad] with maize, and he also learned that the pueblo of Naco, where they beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, was near that town; so he wrote to Gonzalo de Sandoval—believing that he had already arrived and was settled at Naco—telling him to send him ten soldiers who were Coatzacoalcos men, and he said in the letter that without them he was not confident when making expeditions. He also wrote to him that he wished to go from there [Puerto de Caballos] to the Port of Honduras where the town of Trujillo had been settled, and that Sandoval and his soldiers should pacify those lands and found a town. This letter came into Sandoval's possession when we were stationed in the camp already mentioned by me, and we had not reached Naco.

Let us cease speaking of Cortés and his expeditions which he made from the Puerto de Caballos, and about the many mosquitos which bit them on the journeys both by day and night, and, from what I afterwards heard him say, gave him such bad nights that his head was stupid from want of sleep.

When Gonzalo de Sandoval saw the letters, he promptly left the camp I have mentioned for some small pueblos named Cuyuacan, seven leagues distant. He was not able to go at once to Naco as Cortés had ordered him, if he were to avoid leaving behind on the road many soldiers who had gone off to other farms, to find food for themselves and their horses; and on account of the passage of a very deep river[1] which could not be forded on the road from the farms, and in order to leave provision of a canoe by which the Spanish stragglers, and a number of Mexican Indians who were out of health, could pass; (and it was also done for fear of some pueblos near

[1] Rio Motagua.

by the farms on the borders of the river and Golfo Dulce, for many Indians from these pueblos came every day to attack us). So that there should be no ill deeds and deaths of Spaniards and Mexican Indians, Sandoval ordered eight soldiers to remain at that crossing (and left me in command of them), and we were always to have a canoe drawn up on shore ready to make the passage, and to be on the alert so that, when passengers who had been left behind at the farms should raise shouts, we could promptly bring them over.

One night many Indian warriors from the neighbouring pueblos and farms, thinking that we were not keeping watch and hoping to take the canoe from us, fell suddenly on the ranchos in which we lived and set them on fire, but they did not come so secretly that we had not already heard them, and all of us, eight soldiers and four Mexican Indians who were in good health, attacked the warriors and with sword thrusts made them return whence they had come; however they wounded two soldiers and one Indian with their arrows, but the wounds were not serious. When we saw this, three of us companions went to the farms a league distant, where we believed some sick Indians and Spaniards had been left, and brought away one Diego de Mazariegos, often mentioned by me before, and some other Spaniards who were in his company, and some Mexican Indians who were ill, and we crossed the river at once and went to where Sandoval was stationed. As we went on our way one of the Spaniards whom we had picked up at the farms became very ill; he was one of those newly come from Castile and part native of the Canary Islands and the son of a Genoese, and as he grew worse, and we had nothing to give him to eat but tortillas and pínole,[1] when

[1] Pinole = a drink made of parched maize ground and mixed with sugar and water.

we were within half a league of where Sandoval was stationed he died on the road, and I had no men [able] to carry the dead body to the camp. When we arrived where Sandoval was stationed I told him about our journey, and about the man who was left dead, and he was angry with me because between all of us we had not brought him in on our shoulders or on a horse, and I answered him that we were bringing two sick men on each horse and came ourselves on foot, and for this reason we could not bring him. Then a soldier named Villanueva, who was my companion, answered Sandoval very arrogantly that it was as much as we could do to bring ourselves along without carrying dead men on our backs, and that he cursed the hardship and loss that Cortés had caused us. Sandoval at once ordered me and Villanueva to go without delay and bury the body, and we took two Indians with us and a hoe, and dug a grave and buried him and set up a cross. We found in the headpiece of the dead man a small bag with many dice, and a paper with a written record of where he was born and whose son he was, and what property he possessed in Tenerife, and later on that record was sent to Tenerife ; may God have mercy on him, Amen.

Let us stop telling stories, for I wish to say that Sandoval then decided that we should go to some other pueblos, which are now near to some mines which were discovered three years later, and thence we went to another pueblo named Quimiztlan, and the next day at the hour of Mass we went to Naco. At that time it was a good pueblo, but we found it had been deserted that very day, and we took up our quarters in some large courts where they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid. The pueblo was well provisioned with maize and beans and Chili peppers, and we also found a little salt which was the thing we needed most, and there we settled ourselves

with our baggage as though we were going to stay there for ever. In this pueblo is the best water we have found in New Spain, and a tree which in the noonday heat, be the sun ever so fierce, appears to refresh the heart with its shade, and there falls from it a sort of very fine dew which comforts the head. At that time this pueblo was thickly peopled and in a good situation, and there was fruit of the zapotes, both of the red and small kind, and it was in the neighbourhood of other pueblos. I will leave off here and relate what happened to us there.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

How the Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval began the pacification of that Province of Naco, and what else he did.

WHEN we arrived at the Pueblo of Naco and had collected maize, beans and peppers, we captured three chieftains in the maizefields and Sandoval coaxed them and gave them beads from Castile, and begged them to go and summon the other caciques and we would do them no harm whatever.

They set off as they were ordered to do, and two caciques came in, but Sandoval could not induce them to repeople the pueblo, only to bring a little food from time to time: they did us neither good nor harm, nor we to them, and thus we continued for the first [few] days. Cortés had written to Sandoval, as I have stated, to send ten soldiers, men of Coatzacoalcos, to the Puerto de Caballos. All ten were mentioned by name and I was one of them. At that time I was rather ill, and I told Sandoval that he must excuse me for I was disinclined, and, as it met his wishes, I remained and he sent eight soldiers, all good men to face any

difficulty, but yet they went with such ill-will that they cursed Cortés and his journey, and they had good reason to do so, for they did not know whether the country they had to go through was at peace. Sandoval decided to ask the caciques of Naco for five Indian chieftains to accompany them to Puerto de Caballos, and threatened them that if any of the soldiers came to any harm he would burn their town, and would go in search of them and make war on them. He also ordered them to supply the soldiers plentifully with food at each pueblo they might pass through.

The soldiers went on their march to Puerto de Caballos, where they found Cortés who was wishing to embark and go to Trujillo. He was pleased to hear that we were well, and he took the soldiers with him in the ships, and then embarked, leaving behind in that town of Puerto de Caballos one Diego de Godoy as Captain and about forty settlers, who were most of them those who had been with Gil Gonzáles de Ávila and those who had recently come from the Islands.

As soon as Cortés had embarked, his Lieutenant Godoy, who remained in the town, made expeditions with the soldiers who were least infirm to the neighbouring pueblos, and he made peace with two of them; but when the Indians saw that almost all the soldiers who were left there were invalids, and were dying every day, they took no count of them, and for this reason they did not support them with food, nor were they [the settlers] in a condition to go and seek for it, and they suffered great hardship from hunger and even within a few days half of them died. Three soldiers abandoned the town and came fleeing to where we were camped with Sandoval, and I will leave them here in this condition and return to Naco.

When Sandoval saw that the neighbouring Indians

and natives of Naco did not want to come and settle in the pueblo, although he had sent to summon them many times, and that the people of the neighbouring pueblos did not come or take any notice of us, he decided to go himself and manage to make them come. We went at once to some pueblos called Girimonga and Açula, and to three other pueblos near to Naco, and all of them came to give fealty to His Majesty. Then we went to Quismistan[1] and to other pueblos of the Sierra, and they too came in, so that all the Indians of that district submitted, and as nothing was demanded of them beyond what they were inclined to give, their submission did not weigh on them, and in this manner all was pacified as far as up to where Cortés founded the town which is now called Puerto de Caballos.

Let us leave this matter, for I am obliged to go back and speak of Cortés, who disembarked at the Port of Trujillo, because at one and the same time two or three things happened, as I have said repeatedly in former chapters. I must contract my writing into a limited space as to where and how we conquered and settled [the country], and although for the present the story of Sandoval and what happened to him at Naco is put aside, I wish to relate what Cortés did in Trujillo.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

How Cortés disembarked at the Port of Trujillo, and how all the settlers at that town came out to receive him, and how content they were with him, and what he did there.

CORTÉS embarked at Puerto de Caballos, and took in his company many soldiers, both those whom he had brought from Mexico and those Gonzalo de Sandoval

[1] Quimiztlan in preceding chapter. Quimistan on map.

sent him, and with fair weather he arrived at the Port of Trujillo in six days. As soon as the inhabitants who lived there, who had been left as settlers by Francisco de las Casas, knew that it was Cortés, they all went down to the beach, which was near by, to receive him and kiss his hands, for many of them were outlaws who had been turned out of Panuco and had advised Cristóbal de Olid to rebel; they had been banished from Panuco, as I have related in the chapter that tells about it. As they knew themselves guilty they implored Cortés to pardon them, and Cortés with many blandishments and promises embraced them all and pardoned them. Then they went to the church and after evening prayers they lodged him as well as they were able, and gave him an account of all that had happened to Francisco de las Casas and Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, and for what reason they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, and how they had started in the direction of Mexico, and how they had brought to peace some pueblos of that Province. After Cortés had thoroughly understood, he honoured them all by addressing each, and confirming them in their offices as they then held them, except that he made his cousin Sayavedra, for so he was called, Captain General of those provinces, which met with their approval. Cortés then sent to summon the people of all the neighbouring pueblos, and when they heard the news that it was the Captain Malinche, for so they called him, and they knew that he had conquered Mexico, they came promptly at his summons and brought presents of food. As soon as the caciques of the four most important pueblos were assembled, Cortés spoke to them through Doña Marina and told them things touching our holy faith, and that we were all vassals of a great Emperor named Don Carlos of Austria, who had many great lords as his vassals and had sent us to these parts to do away with sodomy

and robberies and idolatry, and to prohibit the eating of human flesh and sacrifices, and they should not rob or make war on one another, but be brothers and treat each other as such. We also came in order that they should give their fealty to so great a King and Lord as he had told them we possessed, and pay tribute by service and from what they might possess, as all of us vassals did, and he told them many other things which Doña Marina knew well how to express, and that those who would not come and submit themselves to the rule of His Majesty he would punish. The two Franciscan friars whom Cortés had brought with him preached very good and holy things to them, which were explained to them by two Mexican Indians who knew the Spanish language, and other interpreters of that language. Moreover Cortés told them that in all matters he would take care that justice was done to them, for that was the order of our Lord and King. Because he used many other arguments and the Caciques understood them very clearly, they replied that they gave themselves as vassals to His Majesty and would do what Cortés ordered them. He at once told them to bring provisions to that town, and he also ordered many Indians to come and bring their axes and fell a wood which stood in the town, so that one could see the sea and harbour from that point. He also ordered them to go in canoes and summon three or four pueblos built upon some islands called the Guanages, which at that time were inhabited, and to bring fish which was plentiful there, and this they did, and within five days the people from the pueblos on the islands arrived, and all brought presents of fish and fowls, and Cortés ordered them to be given some sows and a boar which were found at Trujillo, and some of those which were brought from Mexico so as to raise a breed of them, for a Spaniard told him that it was a good

country for them to increase in, if they were let loose on the island without the necessity of guarding them. It turned out as he said, and within two years there were many pigs and they went out hunting them.

Let us leave this, for it does not touch our story, and I must not grow long-winded telling old tales, and I will relate that so many Indians came to fell the wood in the town as Cortés ordered them, that in two days one got a clear view of the sea, and they built fifteen houses and one very good one for Cortés. When this was done, Cortés enquired which pueblos and lands were rebellious and refused to make peace, and certain Caciques of a pueblo called Papayeca, which was the capital of other pueblos and at that time a large town (although it has now very few or hardly any inhabitants), gave Cortés a memorandum of many pueblos which would not make peace ; they were situated on great mountain ranges and had their defences ready. Cortés promptly sent to summon Captain Sayavedra and the soldiers that it seemed to him necessary for him to take, and, with the eight men of Coatzacoalcos, Sayavedra set out on his march and arrived at the pueblos which usually were warlike, but most of them now met them peaceably except three pueblos which refused to come in. Cortés was so greatly feared by the natives and so celebrated that as far as the pueblos of Olancho, where the mines are which were afterwards discovered, he was feared and revered, and they called him throughout those provinces 'El Capitan hue hue de Marina,' and what they meant to say was 'the old Captain who brought Doña Marina.'

Let us leave Sayavedra who remained near the pueblos which declined to give in—I think they were called the Acaltecas—and return to Cortés who was at Trujillo. The Franciscan friars had already fallen ill, as well as his cousin named Avalos, and the licentiate Pero López and the

mayordomo Carranza and the steward Guinea, and one Juan Flamenco and many other soldiers, whom Cortés had brought with him as well as some of those he found in Trujillo, and even Anton de Carmona who brought the ship with the supplies; so he decided to send them to the Island of Cuba, to Havana or Santo Domingo, if the weather at sea should appear good enough. For this purpose he gave them a ship well repaired and calked, and the best crew he could find, and he wrote to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and to the Geronimite Friars and to Havana, giving an account of how he had set out from Mexico in search of Cristóbal de Olid, and how he left his authority to His Majesty's officials, and about the laborious march he had undertaken; and how Cristóbal de Olid had imprisoned a certain Captain named Francisco de las Casas, whom Cortés had sent to seize the fleet of the same Cristóbal de Olid, who had also taken prisoner one Gil Gonzáles de Ávila who was governor of the Golfo Dulce; and that when Cristóbal de Olid held them prisoners the two Captains stabbed Cristóbal de Olid, and after they had taken him prisoner they passed judgment on him and beheaded him. That at the present time he [Cortés] was settling the country and the pueblos subject to that town of Trujillo, which was a country rich in mines, and that they should send him the soldiers who had no means of subsistence in the Island of Santa Domingo. In order to give credence [to what he had stated] about there being gold, he sent many jewels and pieces from what he brought from Mexico amongst his equipage and table service, and even from his sideboard. He sent his cousin named Avalos as Captain of that ship, and ordered him on his way to capture twenty-five soldiers who had been left by a Captain who, as he was informed, went about attacking Indians on the small Islands and the neighbourhood of Cozumel.

After leaving the Port of Honduras, for so it is sometimes called, they passed, sometimes with fair wind and sometimes with foul, beyond the Cape of San Anton, which is near the range called the Sierra of Guaniguanico, sixty or seventy leagues distant from Havana, and then in a tempest the ship went ashore and the friars were drowned, but the Captain Avalos and many of the soldiers saved themselves in a boat and on boards, and with great hardship reached the Havana. From there the report spread flying all over the Island of Cuba that Cortés and all of us were alive, and a few days later the news reached Santo Domingo, for the licentiate Pedro López the doctor, who was on his way there and had escaped on a board, wrote to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, in the name of Cortés, all that had happened and how he [Cortés] was settled at Trujillo, and had need of supplies and wine and horses, and that to purchase these he was bringing much gold, but it had been lost in the sea, in the way I have already related.

When that news was known everyone rejoiced, for already there was a widespread report, and they thought it was true, that Cortés and all of us his companions were dead, as they had heard that news from a vessel which had come from New Spain.

When it was known in Santo Domingo that Cortés was stationary, settling the provinces as I have stated, the judges [of the Audiencia] and the merchants began to lade two old ships with horses and foals, shirts, caps and ordinary metal ware, and they brought no provisions except one pipe of wine, and no fruit, only horses, and the rest rubbish.

While they were preparing the ships to sail, and before they arrived at the port, I wish to say that, while Cortés was at Trujillo, certain Indians came to him from the Islands of the Guanages, eight leagues distant, to make

complaint, and they said that a ship was anchored near their pueblo, and that a boat-load of Spaniards from the ship armed with muskets and crossbows wanted to capture their mazeguales (for so they call their vassals) by force. From what they understood they were robbers, and in this manner they had captured many Indians in past years, and had carried them off as prisoners in another ship like the ship which was now at anchor, and they [begged him] to send and give them protection against it.

As soon as Cortés knew it he promptly ordered a launch to be armed with the best cannon they possessed, and [manned] by twenty soldiers under a good Captain, and he commanded them to capture the ship the Indians spoke of without fail, and bring it captive with all the Spaniards who were in it, for they were robbers of the vassals of His Majesty. He ordered the Indians to arm their canoes with darts and arrows and go in company with the launch, and help it to seize those men, and for this he gave authority to the Captain, who sailed along with the armed launch and many canoes belonging to the natives of the Islands. No sooner did the people in the ship, which was at anchor, see them sailing along, than they did not waste time in waiting, but made sail and went fleeing, for they knew quite well that they were coming to attack them, and the launch could not overtake them. It was afterwards found out that it was a Bachelor Moreno, whom the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo had sent on a certain commission to Nombre de Dios, and it seems that he swerved from his course, or came with the definite purpose of stealing Indians from the Guanages.[1]

Let us return to Cortés, who remained in that province bringing it to peace, and turn back to relate what happened to Sandoval in Naco.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and as I do not know it very well I will omit it."

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

How Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was at Naco, captured forty Spanish soldiers and their Captain, who had come from the province of Nicaragua, and did much damage and robbed the Indians of the pueblos through which they passed.

WHILE Sandoval was at the pueblo of Naco pacifying nearly all the pueblos of that neighbourhood, there came before him four Caciques of the pueblos named Quespan and Talchinalchapa, who said that in their pueblos there were many Spaniards of the same kind as those who were with him, with arms and horses, and that they seized their property and their daughters and wives and put them in iron chains. At this Sandoval was very indignant and asked how far off they were, and they replied that we could arrive there early in one day. Sandoval promptly ordered us who were to go with him to get ready as well as we could with our arms and horses, our crossbows and muskets, and we were seventy men who went with him. When we arrived at the pueblos where they were, we found them very tranquil, without a suspicion that we were about to capture them, and as soon as they saw us coming in that manner they were aroused and grasped their arms, but we quickly seized the Captain and many of the others before blood was shed on one side or the other. Sandoval asked them in rather bitter words whether they thought it right to go about robbing the vassals of His Majesty, and if that was a proper sort of conquest and pacification, bringing Indian men and women in chains and collars? Then he had them [the chains] taken off and gave the women to the Cacique of that pueblo and ordered the others to go back to their own country which was near by.

When that was done he ordered the Captain who had come there, who was named Pedro de Garro, and his soldiers, to be arrested and to accompany us at once to the pueblo of Naco, whither we marched them, and they brought many Indian women from Nicaragua, some of them handsome, and Indian women servants whom they kept to wait on them, and most of them had horses with them. As we were so battered and ragged from the past journeys and had no Indian women to make bread for us, or only very few, they looked like counts in comparison with our poverty.

When we arrived with them at Naco, Sandoval gave them lodgings in a convenient place, for there were among them some hidalgos and persons of quality. When they had rested a day, their Captain Garro, seeing that we belonged to the company of Cortés who was so celebrated, became great friends with Sandoval and all of us, and they took pleasure in our company.

I wish to state how and in what manner and for what reason that Captain and those soldiers had come; it was in the way I will relate :—

It seems that Pedrarias de Ávila, who was Governor of Tierra Firme at that time, sent a Captain named Francisco Hernández, a man of great importance among them, to conquer and pacify the country of Nicaragua, and to explore other lands, and he gave him a company of soldiers, both horsemen and crossbowmen, and he [Francisco Hernández] arrived at the provinces of Nicaragua and Leon, for so they were called, and pacified and settled them; thus he was prosperous, had command of many soldiers, and was out of reach of Pedrarias de Ávila.

Then he consulted certain advisers, among them, as I understand, a certain Bachelor Moreno, of whom I have already spoken as having been sent by the Royal

Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite Friars, who govern the islands, to Tierra Firme because of a certain lawsuit which, if my memory serves me, was about the death of Balboa the son-in-law of Pedro Arias, who beheaded him after he had married him to his daughter Doña Ysabel Arias de Peñalosa, for so she was called. This Bachelor Moreno said to Captain Francisco Hernández that as soon as he conquered any country he should appeal to our King and Lord to make him Governor of it, as that would not be treason, for it was contrary to justice for Pedrarias to behead his son-in-law Balboa, because Balboa had first sent his proctor to His Majesty asking to be made Adelantado.

Under the influence of these speeches of the Bachelor Moreno, Francisco Hernández sent his Captain Pedro de Garro to search for a port on the North coast, so that he could inform His Majesty about the provinces which he had pacified and settled, in order that he should grant him the favour of being the governor of them, as they were widely separated from the Government of Pedro Arias.

Pedro de Garro was captured while employed on that mission, as I have already stated, and when Sandoval understood the object of his coming he conversed very secretly with Garro, and orders were given that we should inform Cortés, who was at Trujillo, about it, for Sandoval felt certain that Cortés would help him so that Francisco Hernández should remain as Governor of Nicaragua.

When this had been arranged, Sandoval and Garro sent ten men, five of ours and the other five soldiers of Garro's company, to go along the coast to Trujillo with the letters, for, as I have stated in the chapter that treats of it, Cortés was at that time stationed there. They also took with them more than twenty Nicaraguan Indians, whom Garro had brought, to help them to cross the rivers.

When they went on their way they were not able to cross the Rio Pichin or another called the Rio de Balahama, for they were in flood, and at the end of fifteen days the soldiers returned to Naco without having accomplished anything they were ordered to do, at which Sandoval was so much incensed that he reviled the commander who went in charge of them. Then without delay he ordered Captain Luis Marin to go overland with ten soldiers, five of them Garro's men and the others our own, and I was one of them.

We all went on foot and passed through many hostile pueblos, and if I were to describe at length the great hardships and the fights with warlike Indians that we went through and the rivers and bays we crossed swimming or on rafts, or the hunger we some days endured, I should not quickly finish. Other notable things I have to speak of, such as how on one day we crossed three rapid rivers on rafts and by swimming, and when we reached the coast there were many creeks where there were alligators, and we were two days in crossing on rafts a river called Xagua which is ten leagues from Triunfo de la Cruz, because it was running so swiftly, and there we found skulls and bones of seven horses which had died of the poison grass they had grazed on, and they had belonged to the followers of Cristóbal de Olid.

Thence we went to Triunfo de la Cruz and found some wrecked ships on their beam ends. Thence we marched in four days to a pueblo named Quemera, and many hostile Indians came out against us with long and heavy lances and shields, and they use them [the lances] with the right hand over the left arm and make play with them in the way we fight with pikes, and they came on to fight hand to hand. Owing to the crossbows we carried and our sword thrusts, they gave way to us,

and we went on ahead, but they wounded two of our soldiers there.

These Indians who, as I have related, came out to attack us, did not believe that we belonged to the party of Cortés, but to other Captains who went about robbing the Indians.

Let us stop talking about past hardships and I will state that after two more days on the road we reached Trujillo. Before entering the town, about the hour of Vespers, we observed five horsemen, who were Cortés and other gentlemen on horseback who had gone for a ride along the shore, and when they saw us from afar off, they did not know what new thing it could be. When Cortés recognised us he dismounted from his horse and with tears in his eyes came to embrace us and we him, and he said to us, "Oh! my brothers and comrades, how I longed to see you and know how you were." He was thin and we were grieved to see it, for, as we knew, he had been at the point of death from fever and the melancholy which held him, for still at that time he knew neither good or bad news from Mexico. Other persons said that he was still so near death that they had already prepared for him a cowl of [the order of] Señor San Francisco for him to be buried in. Then he went with us all on foot to the town and found us lodgings and we supped with him, and he was so badly off that there was not even enough cassava for us to eat our fill. When we had made our report of why we had come, and he had read the letters about the affair of Francisco Hernández, begging for help, he said that he would do all he was able for him. At the time we arrived at Trujillo, three days had passed since the arrival of the two small vessels with the merchandise which I have before mentioned was sent from Santo Domingo, which consisted of horses and foals and mules and old

arms, and some shirts and red caps and things of little value, and they only brought one pipe of wine and nothing more that was useful, yet those vessels had no sooner come than we all of us got into debt buying gewgaws and foals.

While we were with Cortés telling him about the hardships of our journey, they saw a sailing ship coming from the high seas, and it arrived in port having come from the Havana sent by the Licentiate Zuazo, the same licentiate whom Cortés had left in Mexico as Chief Alcalde; he sent a few provisions for Cortés and a letter which now follows, and if I do not repeat the exact terms which it contained at least I give the substance of it.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

How the Licentiate Zuazo sent a letter to Cortés from the Havana, and what was contained in it I will now relate.

WHEN the ship I have mentioned had come into port, and the gentleman who was her Captain had come ashore, he went to Cortés to kiss hands, and gave him a letter from the Licentiate Zuazo whom he had left in Mexico as Chief Alcalde.

As soon as Cortés had read the letter he became so miserable that he shut himself in his chamber and began to sob, and he did not come out again until the next morning, which was Saturday, and he ordered Mass of Our Lady to be said early in the morning. After Mass had been said, he begged us to listen to him and we should hear news from New Spain, how a report had been spread that we were all dead, and how they had seized our property and sold it at auction, and taken away our Indians and divided them among other

Spaniards who did not deserve them. Then he read the letter from the beginning, and the first item in it was the news which came from Castile from his father Martin Cortés and from Ordas, [stating] how the Accountant Albornoz had gone against him [Cortés] in the letters he wrote to His Majesty and to the Bishop of Burgos and to the Royal Audiencia, and what His Majesty had ordered to be done about it, [namely] to send the Admiral[1] with . . . . men, as I have stated in the chapter that treats of it; and how the Duke de Bejar had become surety and pledged his fortune and head for Cortés and for us, that we were very loyal servants of His Majesty, and other things which I have already mentioned in the chapter which tells about it; and how they had allotted the conquest of the Rio de Palmas to the Captain Narvaez, and had given to one Nuño de Guzman the Government of Panuco, and that the Bishop of Burgos was dead.

About affairs in New Spain he said that as Cortés, when at Coatzacoalcos, had given authority and decrees to the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar and to Pedro Almírez Chirinos to be governors of Mexico, if they should see that the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada and the Accountant Albornoz were not governing well, as soon as they, the Factor and Veedor, arrived in Mexico with their powers, they set about making themselves great friends of the said Licentiate Zuazo, who was chief Alcalde, and of Rodrigo de Paz, who was chief Alguacil, and of Andrés de Tápia and Jorge de Alvarado and most of the Conquerors of Mexico. Then, as soon as the Factor saw that he had so many friends in his party, he said that the Factor and Veedor must be governors and not the Treasurer and Accountant, and about this there were many dis-

[1] Admiral of Santo Domingo, see vol. iv, p. 364.

turbances and deaths of men, some because they favoured the Factor and Veedor, and others because they were friends of the Treasurer and Accountant. However it ended in the office of Governors remaining with the Factor and Veedor, who imprisoned their opponents the Treasurer and Accountant and many of their supporters. Every day there were woundings and revolts, and the Indians who were unemployed they gave to their friends although they did not deserve them. And they did not allow the Licentiate Zuazo himself to administer justice, and had imprisoned Rodrigo de Paz because he had taken his part, and this same Licentiate Zuazo conciliated and reconciled both the Factor and the Treasurer and Accountant as well as Rodrigo de Paz, and they remained in harmony for eight days.

At this time there rose in revolt [the people of] certain provinces named the Zapotecs and Mijes, and a pueblo and stronghold where there was a great rock which was called Coatlan, and they sent to it many soldiers who had lately come from Castile, and others who were not Conquistadores, and sent as their Captain the Veedor Chirinos, and expended many golden pesos from His Majesty's property and from what was in his royal Treasury, and they took such great supplies to the camp where they were stationed that all was riot and card playing, and the Indians from the rock sallied forth in the night and fell upon the camp of the Veedor and killed some of his soldiers and wounded many others. For this reason the Factor despatched on the same service a Captain who was one of the followers of Cortés, named Andrés de Monjaraz, to be in company with the Veedor, for this Monjaraz had become great friends with the Factor, but at that time Monjaraz was crippled with boils, and was not fit to do any good whatever, and the Indians were very victorious and Mexico was ready for revolt any day.

The Factor endeavoured by every means to send gold to Castile to His Majesty, and to the chief Knight Commander of Leon, Don Francisco de los Cobos, for at that time he gave out that Cortés and all of us had been killed at the hands of the Indians at a pueblo named Xicalango.

At that time one Diego de Ordas, often named by me, had returned from Castile, he was the man whom Cortés had sent as Solicitor from New Spain, and what he solicited was for himself a commandery [of the order] of Señor Santiago, which he brought by decree from His Majesty, besides Indians and a coat of arms representing the volcano which is near Huexotzingo. When he arrived in Mexico, Diego de Ordas wished to go and search for Cortés, and this was because he saw the revolts and discords, and because he became a great friend of the Factor. He went by sea in a large ship and a launch to find out whether Cortés were alive or dead, and coasted along until he reached a port called Xicalango, where Simon de Cuenca and Captain Francisco de Medina and the Spaniards who were with him had been killed, as I have related at length in the chapter which treats of it. When Ordas heard this news he returned to New Spain without disembarking, and on landing he wrote to the Factor by some passengers, that he was certain that Cortés was dead. As soon as Ordas had published this news, he promptly crossed over to the Island of Cuba to purchase calves and mares, in the same vessel in which he had gone in search of Cortés.

As soon as the Factor saw the letter from Ordas, he went about showing it to people in Mexico, and the next day he put on mourning and had a tomb and monument placed in the principal church of Mexico, and paid honour to Cortés. Then he had himself proclaimed with trumpets and drums as Governor and Captain General of

New Spain, and ordered all the women whose husbands had died [in the company of Cortés] to pray for their souls and to marry again. He even sent this message to Coatzacoalcos and to other towns, and because the wife of one Alonzo Valiente, named Juana de Mansilla, did not wish to marry and said that her husband and Cortés and all of us were alive; and that we old Conquistadores were not of such poor courage as those who were at the Rock of Coatlan with the Veedor Chirinos, where the Indians attacked them, and not they the Indians; and that she had trust in God that she would soon see her husband Alonzo Valiente and Cortés and all the rest of the Conquistadores returning to Mexico; and that she did not want to marry; because she spoke these words the Factor ordered her to be whipped through the public streets of Mexico as a witch.

There are always traitors and flatterers in this world, and it was one of these (one whom we held to be an honourable man, and out of respect for his honour I will not name him here) who said to the Factor, in presence of many other persons, that he had been badly scared, for as he was walking one night lately near Tlatelolco, which is the place where the great Idol called Huichilobos used to stand, and where now stands the church of Señor Santiago, he saw in the courtyard the souls of Cortés and Doña Marina and that of Captain Sandoval burning in live flames, and that he was very ill through the fright from it. There also came another man whom I will not name, who was also held in good repute, and told the Factor that some evil things were moving about in the courtyards at Texcoco, and that the Indians said they were the spirits of Doña Marina and Cortés, and these were either all lies and falsehoods only reported to ingratiate themselves with the Factor, or the Factor ordered them to be told.

At that time Francisco de las Casas and Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, the Captains so often mentioned by me, who beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, arrived in Mexico. When Las Casas observed those revolutions, and that the Factor was having himself proclaimed as Governor, he said, publicly, that it was wrong and such a thing could not be allowed, for Cortés was alive and he certainly believed so, but, that if God should decree otherwise, Pedro de Alvarado was more the man and had better claim to be Governor than the Factor, and that Pedro de Alvarado should be summoned; and his brother Jorge de Alvarado and even the Treasurer and other Mexican settlers wrote to him [Pedro de Alvarado] to come in any case to Mexico with all the soldiers he had, and they would endeavour to give him the Government until they knew whether Cortés was alive, and they could send and inform His Majesty [and hear] if he were pleased to give other commands.

When Pedro de Alvarado was already on his way to Mexico on account of these letters, he grew frightened of the Factor, on account of the threats which he received from the Factor while he was on his journey [to the effect] that he would kill him, for he knew that they had hanged Rodrigo de Pas and imprisoned the Licentiate Zuazo. At that time the Factor had collected all the gold he could procure, to make it a pretext for a message to His Majesty, and to send a friend of his named Peña with it and his secret despatches. Francisco de las Casas and the Licentiate Zuazo and Rodrigo de Paz objected to this and so did the Treasurer and Accountant, until it should be known for certain whether Cortés were alive, and that he should not spread the report that he was dead, as they were not sure of it, and that if he wished to send gold to His Majesty from his Royal Fifths that was all right, but that it should be done jointly with the

countenance and consent of the Treasurer and Accountant, and not solely in his own name. Because he had already placed it on board the ships and they were ready to sail with it, Las Casas went with orders from the Chief Alcalde Zuazo (and with the approval of Rodrigo de Paz and the other officials of His Majesty's Treasury and the Conquistadores) to detain the ship until others should write to our King and Lord about the condition of New Spain, for it appeared that the Factor did not allow of other persons writing, but that only his own letters [should be sent].

When the Factor saw that Las Casas and the Licentiate Zuazo were no friends of his but were restraining him, he promptly ordered them to be arrested, and brought a suit against Francisco de las Casas and against Gil Gonzáles de Ávila for the death of Cristóbal de Olid, and sentenced them to be beheaded, and wished to carry out the sentence at once, although they appealed to His Majesty, but at their earnest entreaty he allowed the appeal and sent them as prisoners to Castile with the suits that he brought against them.

No sooner was this done than he turned against Zuazo himself, unjustly and faithlessly captured him, carried him on a cargo mule to the Port of Vera Cruz, and embarked him for the Island of Cuba, alleging as reason that he must make his report of the time he was Judge in the Island. He cast Rodrigo de Paz into prison and demanded from him the gold and silver which belonged to Cortés, because as his mayor-domo he knew where it was kept, saying that he had hidden it, because he [the Factor] wished to send it to His Majesty, for it was property which Cortés had wrongfully seized from His Majesty. Because he [Rodrigo de Paz] would not give it up, (indeed it was clear that he had not got it) for this reason he tortured him and burned his feet and

even part of his legs with oil and fire, and he was so thin and ill from imprisonment that he was nearly dying. Not content with torturing him, the Factor, knowing that if he left him alive he would go and complain about him to His Majesty, ordered him to be hanged as a rebel and a robber, and he ordered nearly all the soldiers and settlers in Mexico who were partizans of Cortés to be arrested. Jorge de Alvarado and Andrés de Tápia and most of the partizans of Cortés took refuge in the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, but many others of the Conquistadores went over to the Factor because he gave them good Indians, and they elected to shout with the winning side.

The Factor removed everything from the storehouse of ammunition and arms and ordered it to be placed in his palaces, and he ordered the cannon which were in the fortress and arsenal to be placed in front of his houses, and appointed as Captain of Artillery a certain Don Luis de Guzman, a relative of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and appointed as Captain of his Guard one Archiaga or Artiaga (I cannot now remember his name), and Gínes Nórtes and one Pedro Gonzáles Sabiote and other soldiers were to guard his person.

Moreover in the letter which Zuazo wrote he said that he commanded Cortés to return at once and give security to Mexico, for in addition to all these evils and scandals there were other greater ones, [namely] that the Factor had written to His Majesty that they had found in the equipage of Cortés, hidden away, a false die with which he marked the gold that the Indians brought him secretly, and that he did not pay the "fifth" of it. Zuazo also stated, so that one could see how things were going in Mexico, that a settler from Coatzacoalcos, who came to that city to ask for some Indians (who at that time were unclaimed owing to the

death of another settler from among those who peopled that town,) most secretly asked a woman with whom he lodged, why she had married again, for her husband and all those who went with Cortés were certainly alive, and gave reasons and arguments in support of it. When the Factor knew of it, (and they at once went to him with the gossip) he sent four alguacils for the man who had said it, and carried him manacled to the prison, and he wished to order him to be hanged as a rebel, until the poor settler who was named Gonzalo Hernández gave in, and said that when he saw the woman weeping for her husband, so as to console her, he had said that her husband was not dead, but it was [now] certain we were all dead. Then he [the Factor] promptly gave him the Indians he asked for, and ordered him not to remain any longer in Mexico, and not to say anything else or he would order him to be hanged. Moreover Zuazo said at the end of his letter "this which I here write to your Excellency happened as I have stated, and I left them there and they put me on board ship and brought me in fetters here where I now am."

When Cortés had read this, we were so sorrowful and enraged, both with Cortés who had brought on us so many hardships, as well as with the Factor, that we uttered two thousand curses against one as well as the other, and our hearts beat with rage. Cortés could not keep back his tears, and with this same letter he went at once to shut himself up in his quarters, and did not want us to see him until past midday.

We one and all addressed him and begged him to embark at once in the three ships which were there for us to go to New Spain. He replied very affectionately—"Oh my sons and comrades, I see on one side that bad man the Factor who is very powerful, and I fear that as

soon as he knows that we are at the Port he will inflict other outrages and affronts on us more than he has done already, or he will kill me or hang me or imprison both me and you. I will embark at once, with God's help, with only four or five of your honours, and I must go very secretly and disembark at a port, so that they know nothing about it in Mexico until we enter unobserved into the city. Besides this, Sandoval is in Naco with very few soldiers and has to go through a hostile country, especially in Guatemala which is not peaceful, and it is desirable that you, Señor Luis Marin, with all your companions who came here in search of me should return and join Sandoval and take the road for Mexico."

Let us leave this, for I wish to state that Cortés wrote at once to Captain Francisco Hernández, who was in Nicaragua, who had sent Pedro de Garro, already mentioned by me, to look for a harbour, and he offered to do all that he could for him, and he sent him two mules laden with horse-shoes because he knew that he was in need of them. He also sent him iron mining tools, and rich clothes for him to wear, and four cups and jars of silver from his table service, and some jewels of gold, all of which he entrusted to a gentleman named Fulano de Cabrera, who was one of the five soldiers who went with us in search of Cortés, and this Captain was later on Captain of Benalcazar — a very valiant Captain and a cheerful man personally, a native of Old Castile. He was Quarter-master to Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and died in the same battle in which the Viceroy died. I must leave old stories, for I wish to state that when I saw that Cortés had to go to New Spain by sea, I went to beg him as a favour in any case to take me in his company, and to remember that throughout all his hardships and wars he had always found me at his side, and I had helped him, and that now the time had come when I

should know whether he had consideration for the services and friendship I had rendered him and for my present supplication. Then he embraced me and said—"If I take you with me, who will go with Sandoval? I pray you, my son, to go with your friend Sandoval, and I pledge my beard I will grant you many favours which I certainly owe you from time back."

In short I profited nothing, for he would not let me go with him. I also wish to state that while we were staying at that town of Trujillo, a gentleman named Rodrigo Mañueco, the steward of Cortés, a courtier, to please and amuse Cortés, who was very mournful and had good reason to be so, made a bet with some other gentlemen that fully armed he would climb up to some houses which the Indians of the province had lately built for Cortés (as I have stated in the chapter which treats of the subject). These houses stood on a rather high hill, and while he was climbing up fully armed he burst [a blood vessel] while ascending the cliff and died from it.

Also when certain gentlemen, among those whom Cortés found in that town, saw that he did not give them offices as they desired, they began to form factions, and Cortés quieted them by saying that he would take them with him to Mexico, and that there he would give them honourable appointments.

Let us leave this now, and I will relate what more Cortés did, which was that he ordered Diego de Godoy, whom he had appointed Captain at Puerto de Caballos, and certain settlers who were ill and could not endure the fleas and mosquitos, and had nothing with which to support themselves and had all these reasons for misery, to go to Naco where there was good land. He ordered us to go with Captain Luis Marin on the road to Mexico, and that, if there were opportunity, we were to go to see the province of Nicaragua, so as to claim its government

from His Majesty, for even of that Cortés was covetous, to take the government in time to come if he should reach port in Mexico.

After Cortés had embraced us and we him, we left him on board, and he set sail for Mexico and we set out for Naco, very cheerful at the thought that we were marching on the road to Mexico, and, with great hardship from want of food, we arrived at Naco, and Sandoval was as pleased as we were when we arrived.

Pedro de Gallo and all his soldiers had already taken leave of Sandoval and gone off very cheerfully to Nicaragua to make his report to Captain Francisco Hernández of what he had arranged with Sandoval. Then the next day after our arrival at Naco we left it and set out on the road for Mexico, and the soldiers of the company of Garro, who had gone with us to Trujillo, went on their way to Nicaragua with the presents and letters which Cortés was sending to Francisco Hernández.

I will stop talking about our march, and will relate what happened about that present to Francisco Hernández with the governor Pedro Arias de Ávila.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

How certain friends of Pedrarias de Ávila went post haste from Nicaragua to inform him that Francisco Hernández, whom he had sent as Captain to Nicaragua, was in correspondence by letter with Cortés, and had revolted with the provinces, and what Pedrarias did about it.

As a soldier named Fulano Garavito and a comrade, and another called Zamorano, who were intimate friends of Pedrarias de Ávila, the Governor of Tierra Firme, observed that Cortés had sent presents to Francisco

Hernández and understood that Pedro de Garro and other soldiers conversed in secret with Francisco Hernández, they began to suspect that he wished to give those provinces and lands to Cortés. Moreover Garavito was an enemy of Cortés, for, when they were youths in the Island of Santo Domingo, Cortés had stabbed him over a love affair with some woman. When Pedrarias de Ávila got to know this by letters and messengers, he came in a hurry with a great company of soldiers both horse and foot, and seized Francisco Hernández. Pedro de Garro, when he got to know that Pedrarias was coming in a great rage against him, promptly took to flight and came with us. If Francisco Hernández had desired to come he could have done so, but he did not wish [to come], believing that Pedrarias would treat him differently, as they had been great friends. After Pedrarias had brought Francisco Hernández to trial and found that he had rebelled, he sentenced and beheaded him in the same town which he had settled, and so ended the coming of Garro and the presents of Cortés, and we will leave them there and I will relate how Cortés returned to the port of Trujillo in a storm.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

How Cortés, going by sea in the direction of Mexico, met with a hurricane, and twice turned back to the port of Trujillo, and what happened to him there.

As I have stated in the last chapter, Cortés embarked at Trujillo and it seems that he encountered tempests at sea, foul winds on some occasions, and on another the foremast was carried away, and he gave orders to run to Trujillo for shelter. As he was enfeebled, out of health, and worn out by the sea, and very uneasy about

going to New Spain for fear lest the Factor should seize him, it seemed to him that it was not wise to go to Mexico at that season, so he disembarked at Trujillo and ordered masses to be said to the Holy Ghost, and processions and prayers offered to our Lord God and to our Lady the Virgin Mary to guide him as to what might most tend towards their holy service, and it appears that the Holy Spirit enlightened him not to undertake that journey then, but to conquer and settle those lands. Then without any delay and at breakneck speed he sent three messengers after us with his letters as we were on our march, imploring us not to proceed further ahead, but to conquer and settle the country, for his good guardian Angel had inspired it and enlightened his mind, and he thought of acting accordingly.

When we saw the letter and that his orders were definite, we could not stand it, and we hurled a thousand curses at him, wishing him ill luck in anything he put his hand to, and that he might be ruined as he had ruined us. In addition to this we said, one and all, to Captain Sandoval, that if Cortés wanted to settle, he might keep those he wished, for he had brought us defeat and loss enough, and we vowed not to wait for him any longer but to go to the lands in Mexico which we had gained. Sandoval also was of our opinion, and what he settled with us was that we should write to Cortés post haste by the same messengers as brought the letters, informing him of our determination.

A few days later he received our letters signed by all of us, and the answer he made us was, to make grand promises to those who might wish to stay and settle in that country, and the end of the letter contained a short threat that if we refused to obey his orders there were [plenty of] soldiers in Castile and elsewhere. When we all saw that reply we wished to continue our march to

Mexico and cause him to give up his fears. As soon as Sandoval observed this he implored us, very affectionately and with great entreaty, to wait some days while he personally went to make Cortés embark. In answer to his letter we wrote to Cortés that he must have compassion, and more consideration than he had shown in having brought us to this pass, and it was his fault that they had robbed us and sold our estates and taken our Indians, and those who were with us who were married said that they had no news of wife and children, and we prayed him to embark promptly and proceed on his way to Mexico. As for what he said about there being soldiers in Castile and everywhere else, he knew also that there were Governors and Captains stationed in Mexico, and wherever we arrived they would give us Indians.

Then Sandoval set out and took in his company one Pedro Saucedo, the flat-nosed, and a farrier named Francisco Donayre, and he took with him his good horse called Motilla, and he swore that he would make Cortés embark and go to Mexico. I have here called to mind this matter of the horse Motilla; he was a fine galloper and easily turned, a rather dark chestnut and the best looking all round that could be found in New Spain. He was so good that His Majesty had heard of him, and Sandoval even wished to send him as a present. Let us cease talking about the horse Motilla and go on to say that Sandoval wished to send it to His Majesty, and begged my horse of me, which was a very good one both for sport and racing as well as a good roadster, and this horse I had bought for six hundred pesos. It used to belong to one Avalos the brother of Sayavedra. The other horse that I brought, which had cost me at that time over six hundred pesos, was killed on an expedition to a pueblo named Zulaco. Sandoval gave me one of his in exchange for the one I gave him, and this one

that he gave me did not last two months, and it was killed in another war, and there remained to me only a very miserable colt which I had bought from the merchants who came to Trujillo, as I have related before in the chapter that treats of it. Let us go back to my story and stop talking of damage done to horses and of my bad luck. Before Sandoval left us he addressed us all with much affection, and left Luis Marin as Captain, and we went at once to some pueblos called Maniani and thence to another pueblo named Acalteca, where at that time there were many houses, where we were to await the reply from Cortés. Sandoval reached Trujillo in a few days, and Cortés was delighted to see him, and when he saw what we had written to him, he did not know whom he could ask for advice, for he had already ordered his cousin Sayavedra who was a Captain to go with all the soldiers to pacify the pueblos that were at war, and notwithstanding all the speeches and solicitations that Sandoval addressed to Cortés, as well as those of Pedro Saucedo the flat-nosed, to induce him to go to New Spain, he never would embark; and what happened I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

How Cortés sent a Ship to New Spain, with a follower of his named Martin de Orantes as Captain, with letters and decrees appointing Francisco de las Casas and Pedro de Alvarado as Governors if they were there, and if not then Alonzo de Estrada and Albornoz.

NOW as Gonzalo de Sandoval could not induce Cortés to embark, for he was still intent on conquering and settling that country, which at this time was thickly peopled and said to contain gold mines, it was settled that without further delay he should send by ship to

Mexico one of his followers named Martin Dorantes,[1] an active man whom he could trust in any business of importance, and he went as Captain of the ship and took with him decrees appointing Pedro de Alvarado and Francisco de las Casas (if they had returned to Mexico) Governors of New Spain, until Cortés [himself] arrived, and if they were not in Mexico, the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada and the Accountant Albornoz should be Governors, in the same way as he had given them authority before, and he revoked the powers given to the Factor and the Veedor. He wrote very amiably to the Treasurer and also to Albornoz, although he knew of the hostile letters he [the latter] had written to His Majesty against Cortés. He also wrote to all his friends the Conquistadores, and to the monasteries of San Francisco and the Friars. He ordered Martin Dorantes to go and disembark at a bay between Panuco and Vera Cruz, and he also impressed this on the pilot and sailors, and moreover he paid them well not to put anyone ashore except Martin Dorantes, and as soon as they had put him ashore to up anchor, make sail, and go to Panuco. He had given them the best of the three vessels which there were, and had provisioned it, and after having heard Mass they set sail, and it pleased our Lord to give them such good weather that in a few days they reached New Spain and went directly to the bay near Panuco which Martin Dorantes knew very well.

As soon as he had landed and given many thanks to God for it, Martin Dorantes disguised himself so that he should not be known, taking off his clothes and donning others like those of a farmer, for so Cortés had instructed him, and he had even carried these clothes ready with him from Trujillo. With all the letters and

[1] Written both Dorantes and de Orantes.

decrees well hidden and secured to his body so that they should not appear bulky, he set out swiftly on his journey afoot, for he was an active pedestrian. When he reached Indian pueblos where there were Spaniards, he kept among the Indians so as not to hold converse nor to be asked questions, and when he was obliged to treat with Spaniards, they could not recognise him, for it was two years and three months since we left Mexico and his beard had grown. When someone asked him his name, or where he was going or whence he had come, in case he could not avoid answering them, he said he was called Juan de Flechilla. So four days after leaving the Ship he entered Mexico by night and went to the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, where he found many refugees, and among them Jorge de Alvarado, Andrés de Tápia, Juan Nuñez de Mercado, Pedro Moreno Medrano and many other Conquistadores and friends of Cortés. When they beheld Orantes and learned that Cortés was alive and saw his letters, one and all they could not contain their delight, but danced and jumped. Then the Franciscan Friars, and among them Fray Toribio Motolinia and Fray Diego de Altamirano, all jumped for joy and gave thanks to God for it. Then without further delay they closed all the gates of the Monastery so that no traitor, and there were many of them, should get out to take a message or talk about it [the news], and at midnight they informed the Treasurer and the Accountant and other friends of Cortés, and as soon as they heard the news they came to San Francisco, without making any noise, and examined the powers which Cortés had sent them, and decided before anything else to go and seize the Factor. They spent all the night going about warning friends and preparing arms so as to seize him [the Factor] on the following morning, for at that time the Veedor was on the hill of Coatlan.

As soon as it was dawn the Treasurer and all the partizans of Cortés set out, and Martin de Orantés went with them, so that he might be recognized, and they went to the houses of the Factor crying in the streets "Long live the King our Lord and Hernando Cortés in his royal name, for he is alive and is now coming to the city, I am his servant Orantes." When the settlers heard that noise so early in the morning, and heard cries of "Viva el Rey," all ran to arms as they were bound to do, thinking that there was something afoot in which they could support the cause of His Majesty, and when they heard that Cortés was alive and beheld Orantes they were delighted. Many of the settlers in Mexico joined the Treasurer in order to assist him, for, as it appears, the Accountant was not very enthusiastic, and behaved trickishly until Alonzo de Estrada reproved him, and over this some very angry words passed between them, because they did not please the Accountant. Going on to the Factor's houses they found him very well prepared for them, for he soon knew all about it as the Accountant himself had given him warning how they were coming to arrest him, so he ordered his cannon to be primed in front of his house, and the Captain of the artillery was Don Luis de Guzman, a cousin of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and he had his Captains ready with many soldiers (and these Captains were named Archilaga and Gínes Nórtes and Pedro González Sobiote). When the Treasurer and Jorge de Alvarado and Andrés de Tápia and all the other Conquistadores arrived with the Accountant (although he came slowly and with an ill will) and all his people shouting for the King and Hernando Cortés in his royal name, they began to find their way in, some over the flat roofs, others by the doors of the chambers and by two other entrances. All those who were on

the side of the Factor lost heart because the Captain of the Artillery, Don Luis de Guzman, leaned towards one side and the Gunners to the other, and [the latter] abandoned the cannon. Then the Captain Archilaga made haste to hide himself, and Gínes Nórtes slipped away and went out by some corridors down below, and only Pedro Gonzáles and four of his servants remained with the Factor.

When he saw himself thus deserted the Factor himself seized a brand with which to fire the cannon, but they fell upon him so quickly that he could do no more, and there they arrested him and placed guards over him until they made a prison cage of stout beams and placed him within it, and there they fed him, and thus ended the affair of his Government. Then they promptly sent messengers to all the towns of New Spain reporting all that had happened.

This being the state of affairs some persons were pleased at it, and those to whom the Factor had given Indians and offices were sorry for it. The news reached the hill of Coatlan and Oaxaca where the Veedor was stationed. When the Veedor and his friends heard it, his sorrow and concern was so great that he fell ill and transferred the office of Captain to Andrés de Monjaraz, often mentioned by me, who was ill from boils, and came post haste to the city of Texcoco and took refuge in the Monastery of Señor San Francisco. When the Treasurer and Accountant, who were now the Governors, knew about it, they sent to arrest him in the Monastery, for already they had sent Alguacils and soldiers with orders to arrest him wherever he might be found, and also to deprive him of his office as Captain. When they knew that he was in Texcoco they removed him from the Monastery and brought him to Mexico and placed him in another cage near the Factor. Then they sent mes-

sengers to Guatemala post haste to inform Pedro de Alvarado of the imprisonment of the Factor and Veedor, and, as Cortés was in Trujillo, not far away from his [Alvarado's] conquests, he was to go quickly in search of him and make him come to Mexico, and they gave him letters and reports of all that I have stated and noted above, exactly in the way that it happened.

In addition to this the first thing the Treasurer did was to order honour to be paid to Juana de Manzilla, the wife of Alonzo Valiente, whom the Factor had ordered to be flogged as a witch. It was done in this way: he ordered all the Caballeros in Mexico to parade on horseback, and he, the Treasurer, himself carried her on the croup of his horse through the streets of Mexico, and they said that like a Roman Matron she did what she had done, and the insult which the Factor had put on her turned to her honour, and with much rejoicing they called her from thenceforward La Señora Doña Juana de Manzilla, and said that she was worthy of much praise. Moreover the Factor had not been able to compel her to marry or to say otherwise than what she had first said, that her husband and Cortés and all of us were alive. And for that honor of "Don" which they gave her, Gonzalo de Ocampo, who made the foul-mouthed lampoons, said that she extracted "Don" from her back like a nose [the length] of an arm.[1]

Let us leave off here, and I will relate what more happened.

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[1] This is a play on the word "Don"=a title, and don=a gift. Narices de brazo (a nose the length of an arm)=something very great, *i.e.*, she gained something very great, her title of Doña, as compensation for her thrashing.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

How the Treasurer and many other gentlemen prayed the Franciscan Friars to send one Fray Diego Altamirano, a relation of Cortés, in a ship to Trujillo to make him [Cortés] return, and what happened about it.

THE Treasurer and other gentlemen who were partizans of Cortés saw that it was advisable for Cortés to return at once to New Spain, for factions and parties were already springing up, and the Accountant was not content that the Factor and Veedor should remain prisoners, and above all the Accountant stood in great fear of Cortés, when he should hear of what he [the Accountant] had written about him to His Majesty, as I have already stated in parts of former Chapters which tell about it. So they decided to go and beg the Franciscan Friars to grant leave for Fray Diego Altamirano to go to Trujillo in a ship, which they had ready for him well provisioned and with a good crew, and make Cortés come back, for that Friar was his kinsman and before he had become a Friar had been a soldier, a man of war who understood negotiation, and the Friars approved of it and Fray Diego Altamirano was quite willing to go.

We need not dwell on the voyage of the Friar, who was making his preparations, and I will relate that while the Factor and Veedor were prisoners, the Accountant, as I have repeatedly mentioned, apparently behaved very trickily and with ill will when he saw that the affairs of Cortés were on the mend. As the Factor used to have as friends many men who were brigands and always on the look-out for disputes and revolutions, and were well disposed towards the Factor and Chirinos because they gave them golden pesos and Indians, a number of them agreed to unite, and certain persons of quality and of all

sorts besides decided to release the Factor and Veedor and to kill the Treasurer and the jailors, and it is said that the Accountant knew about it and was delighted at it. In order to carry out their plans they spoke very secretly to a locksmith named Guzman, who was a maker of crossbows, a low fellow who made scurrilous jokes, and told him secretly to make them keys to open the gates of the prison and of the cages where the Factor was [confined] and they would pay him very well, and they gave him a piece of gold as a retainer for the making of the keys, and they warned him and charged him to be very secret. The locksmith replied with very flattering and cheerful expressions that he was glad to do it, and that they should be more careful of the secret than they were, for this affair upon which so much depended they had revealed to him knowing who he was, but they must not disclose it to others; and he was delighted that the Factor and Veedor should come out of prison, and he asked them who and how many were in the plot, and where they were to meet when they went to do that good deed, and what day and at what hour, and they told him everything clearly about the way they arranged it. The locksmith began to forge some keys in the shape of the pattern they brought him for the keys to be made from, but not with the intention of perfecting them or making them of any use for unlocking, and he did this on purpose, and mischievously made the keys so that they could not unlock, in order to induce them to come and go to his shop on the matter of the keys being made to fit properly, and meanwhile to get at the root of the conspiracy that had been made. The longer he delayed the making of the keys, the more thoroughly he gained this knowledge, and when the day came for him to deliver the keys which he had perfected, and all were ready posted with their arms, the

locksmith went quickly to the house of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada and reported the affair to him. When the Treasurer knew about it, he sent secretly without delay to collect all the partizans of Cortés, and without letting the Accountant know of it they went to the house where those were assembled who were about to release the Factor, and they quickly arrested as many as twenty of them who were all armed, and the others fled and could not be captured. When enquiry had been made for what purpose they had assembled there, it was found to have been in order to release those I have named, and to kill the Treasurer. Then it was also found out that the Accountant had approved of it. As there were among them three or four men very seditious and bandits, who had been concerned in all the revolts and discords that had taken place in Mexico at that time, and even during one of them had violated a Castilian woman, after a suit had been brought against them (this was done by a Bachelor named Ortega, who was acting as Chief Alcalde and came from the same district as Cortés), Ortega sentenced three of them to be hanged and others to be flogged, and the names of those who were hanged were Pastrana, the second Balverde and the third Escobar, and I do not remember the names of those who were flogged. The locksmith hid himself for many days, for he feared the partizans of the Factor would kill him for having revealed what they had told him under such great secrecy.

Let us stop talking of this, for the men are already dead, and although it is taking a great jump which I seem to make outside of my story, yet what I shall relate now falls into its place. It is that, when the Factor had sent a ship with all the gold he could obtain to His Majesty, as I have stated in former Chapters, and had written to His Majesty that Cortés was dead,

and how they had paid him funeral honours, and had informed him about other things which suited him, and was sending to beg His Majesty to grant him the favour of the Governorship, there went, it appears, in the same ship in which he sent his despatches, other letters well concealed, so that the Factor knew nothing about them, and these letters were for His Majesty so that he should know all that was happening in New Spain, and of the atrocities and injustice which the Factor and Veedor had committed.

In addition to this, His Majesty already had a report through the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite Friars, who were Governors of the Indies, that Cortés was alive and was serving his royal crown by conquering and settling the province of Honduras. When the Royal Council of the Indies and the Chief Commander of Leon knew this they informed His Majesty of it. Then it is reported that the Emperor our Lord said "All that has been done in New Spain has been badly done in that they have rebelled against Cortés, and they have done me much disservice. However he is alive, and I have this opinion of him, that they will be punished in retribution for their evil deeds when he arrives in Mexico."

To go back to my story, the Friar Altamirano embarked at the port of Vera Cruz as it was arranged, and meeting with good weather arrived in a few days at the port of Trujillo where Cortés was residing.

As soon as the townspeople and Cortés observed a powerful ship sailing towards the port they at once guessed the truth that it was coming from New Spain to carry him to Mexico. As soon as it made the port and the Friar had landed, accompanied by all those whom he had brought with him, and Cortés knew some of them whom he had seen in Mexico, they all went to kiss his

hands, and the Friar embraced him, and with holy and good words all went to the Church to say their prayers, and thence to their quarters, where the Padre Fray Diego Altamirano told him that he was his cousin, and related all that had happened in Mexico, as I have already fully written it down, and what Francisco de las Casas had done for Cortés and how he had gone to Castile.

All that the Friar told him Cortés already knew through the letter of the Licentiate Zuazo, as I have related in the chapter that treats of it, and he showed great concern at [hearing] it and said that it pleased our Lord that it had so happened, and he gave great thanks to Him for it and for Mexico being already at peace, and that he wished to go there at once by land, as he did not dare to go by sea, for, as was already known by Zuazo's letter, he had already embarked twice, and he could not lay his course because the sea was beset by strong and adverse currents and it was always laborious sailing, moreover he was sickly. When the pilots told him that as it was the month of April there were no currents and the weather was fair at sea, he agreed to embark. He could not set sail at once, not until Captain Gonzalo Sandoval should arrive, whom he had sent to some pueblos called Olancho, which were distant fifty-five leagues, and he had only just started to eject from that district one of Pedrarias' Captains named Rojas, whom Pedrarias had sent from Nicaragua to explore the country and seek for mines, after he had beheaded Francisco Hernández as I have related. It appears that the Indians of that province of Olancho came to complain to Cortés that certain soldiers from Nicaragua were seizing their wives and daughters and stealing their poultry and all else they possessed. Sandoval promptly set out and took sixty men with him, and wished to capture Rojas, but through certain gentlemen, who

mediated between one party and the other, they were made friends, and Rojas even gave Sandoval [a present of] an Indian page to wait upon him. Just at that time Cortés' letter arrived [ordering him] to come back without delay with all his soldiers, and telling him of the coming of the Friar and all that had happened in Mexico. When Sandoval heard this he was very pleased and could hardly await the hour to turn back, but came post haste after having ejected Rojas from there [the district].

Cortés was delighted at Sandoval's return, and gave instructions to Captain Sayavedra, who remained behind as his lieutenant in that province, as to what he was to do. He then wrote to Captain Luis Marin, and to all of us, at once to take the road to Guatemala, and he told us about all that had happened in Mexico, in the way it is mentioned here, and of the coming of the Friar and about the imprisonment of the Factor and Veedor. He also ordered Captain Godoy, who was stationed at Puerto de Caballos [engaged in] forming a settlement, to go to Naco with all his people. These letters he gave to Sayavedra with orders to send them to us with all speed, and Sayavedra, out of spite, did not want to forward them and neglected his duty, and we learnt that in fact he would not deliver them, and we never knew about them.

To go back to my story, Cortés embarked with all his friends, and with favourable weather laid his course for Havana, for the wind was more favourable for that course than for New Spain. There he disembarked, and all the settlers at Havana who were his acquaintances rejoiced at it, and they took refreshment and heard the news (brought by a ship which had come to Havana from New Spain a few days before) that Mexico was pacified, and that the Indians who had fortified the hill of Coatlan and were waging war against the Spaniards, as soon as they knew that Cortés and we Conquistadores were alive, had made peace with the Treasurer on certain conditions. I will now go on with my story.

BOOK XV.

THE RETURN TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER CXC.

How Cortés embarked at Havana to go to New Spain and with favourable weather arrived at Vera Cruz, and the delight shown by all at his coming.

AFTER Cortés had rested five days in Havana he could hardly await the hour when he would be in Mexico, and he promptly ordered all his people to embark and set sail, and with good weather he arrived in two days near to the Port of Medellin, opposite to the Island of Sacrificios. There he ordered the ships to be anchored (for the wind was not favourable for going any further), and so as not to sleep that night at sea, Cortés, with twenty soldiers who were friends of his, went ashore and marched on foot about half a league, and, as luck would have it, came on a drove of horses which had come to the port with certain passengers who were about to embark for Castile, and they went to Vera Cruz, a matter of five leagues, on the horses and mules of this drove. He ordered that no one should go and give notice that he was coming by land, and about two

hours before dawn he reached the town and went straightway to the church, the door of which was open, and entered it with all his company.

It was very early in the morning when the Sacristan, who was a man newly come from Castile, arrived and saw the church full of men, and, as he did not know Cortés nor those who were with him, he ran out to the street shouting and calling to the Alguacils that the church was full of strange men, so that they should order them out. On hearing the cries of the Sacristan, the chief Alcalde, with other subordinate Alcaldes and three Alguacils and many other settlers, came out armed, thinking that something worse had happened, and entered in haste and began to order us with angry words to leave the church. As Cortés was gaunt from his journeys they did not recognise him until they heard him speak, and when they saw that it was Cortés they all went to kiss his hands and bid him welcome.

Then Cortés embraced the Conquistadores who lived in the town and called them by their names, asked them how they were and spoke kindly words to them, and then Mass was said, and they took him to lodge in the best houses which belonged to Pedro Moreno Medrano, and he stayed there eight days and they entertained him with many feasts and rejoicings. They sent messengers post haste to Mexico to say that he had arrived, and Cortés wrote to the Treasurer and to the Accountant, although he was unfriendly, and to all his friends and to the Monastery of San Francisco, and all were delighted at the news.

As soon as the Indians in the neighbourhood knew about it, they all brought him presents of gold and cloths and cacao, poultry and fruits. Then he set out from Medellin and went on his journey over roads which they had cleared for him, and his lodgings were all

garlanded[1] and plentifully supplied with food for Cortés and all who went in his company. Then I could tell what the Mexicans did in the way of rejoicings, how all the pueblos round the lake combined to send him during his journey a great present of gold and cloth and poultry and all sorts of fruits of the country that were ripe in that season, and sent to ask his pardon for not sending more owing to his sudden arrival, but when he should go to his city they would do their duty and render service to him as the Captain who had conquered them and dealt with them justly ; and other pueblos came to do the same thing.

Nothing was forgotten in the province of Tlaxcala, for all the chieftains came out to receive him with dances and routs and rejoicings and plenty of food. When he arrived within three leagues of the City of Texcoco, which is a City with its subject pueblos nearly the size of Mexico, the Accountant Albornoz sallied forth [to meet him], for he had come for the purpose of receiving Cortés so as to stand well with him, for he feared him greatly.

He collected many Spaniards from all the pueblos in the neighbourhood, and together with those who were in his company and the Caciques of that City they went to receive Cortés more than two leagues [out from the city] with great preparations of games and dances. Cortés was pleased at this.[2] Then when he reached Texcoco they gave him another great reception, and he slept there that night and the next morning continued his journey.

Then the Municipality of Mexico, and the Treasurer,

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[1] Blotted out in the original : "with flowers and roses and sweet scent."

[2] Blotted out in the original : "showing much affection towards Albornoz because he knew that in him he had a friend."

and all the gentlemen and Conquistadores and friends of Cortés, wrote to him begging him to tarry in some pueblos two leagues distant from Tenochtitlan Mexico, although he could well have entered that day, but that he should delay it until the next morning early, so that all might enjoy the great reception they would give him. Then the Treasurer sallied forth with all the gentlemen and Conquistadores, and the municipality of the City, and all the officials in their robes, wearing the richest garments and hose and doublets they possessed, with all kinds of musical instruments, and the Caciques for their part with many sorts of devices and liveries as was their wont, and the lake full of canoes with Indian warriors in them, just as they were used to fight with us in the time of Guatemoc, and others who came along the causeway. There were so many games and such rejoicings that one could say they went on all day long, and in the streets of Mexico all was routs and dances, and as soon as it was night much illumination in the doorways. The best of all remains to be told, for the day after Cortés arrived the Franciscan Friars formed processions giving many thanks to God for the mercy He had shown in the return of Cortés.

Then (to go back to his entry into Mexico), he went at once to the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, where he had Mass said and gave thanks to God for delivering him from the past hardships in Honduras, and bringing him back to the city.

Then he went to his houses which were well built like rich palaces, and there he was served and treated by all like a prince. And the Indians from all the provinces came to see him and brought him presents of gold, and even the Caciques from the Hill of Coatlan, who had been in rebellion, came to bid him welcome and brought him presents.

Cortés made his entry into Mexico in the month of June 1524 or 1525, and as soon as he had rested he promptly ordered the bandits to be seized, and began to make investigation into the dealings of the Factor and Veedor, and he also seized Gonzalo de Ocampo or Diego de Ocampo (I do not remember clearly his Christian name), for it was on him that they found the papers with the defamatory libels.[1] He also arrested one Ocaña, a notary who was a very old man, whom they called the body and soul of the Factor. When they were prisoners Cortés had the intention, seeing that he had justice on his side, of taking proceedings against the Factor and Veedor and as a penalty to take their lives, and, if he had done so at once, there would have been no one in Castile who would have said it was ill done, and His Majesty would have approved of it. I heard it stated before the members of the Royal Council of the Indies in the presence of the Bishop Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in the year 1540, when I went there about my lawsuits, that Cortés was very careless in the matter, and they charged him with weakness and carelessness.

CHAPTER CXCI.

How the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, who came to take the 'Residencia' of Cortés, arrived at this very moment at the port of Vera Cruz with three ships, and what happened about it.

It is necessary to go back a little, so that what I say now may be clearly understood.

I have already told in former chapters about the many complaints which were made against Cortés before His

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "which was that he was making a Monastery with certain Friars, and attributing to each one of them things without truth."

Majesty when the Court was at Toledo, and how those who laid the complaints were the partizans of Diego Velásquez and all the others I have often mentioned, and the letters of Albornoz gave support to them. As His Majesty thought they [the complaints] were true, he had ordered the Admiral of Santo Domingo to come with a great company of soldiers and arrest Cortés, and all of us who went with him when he defeated Narvaez. I have also related how when the Duque de Béjar, Don Alvaro de Zuñiga, heard of it, he went to beg His Majesty not to believe the letters of a man who was very hostile to Cortés until he could ascertain the truth. As the Admiral did not come, nor the evidence in support of the suit, His Majesty ordered a nobleman who was at that time in Toledo, named the Licentiate Ponce de Leon (a cousin of the Count of Alcandete), to come and take his Residencia [of Cortés], and, if he should find him incriminated by the accusations which were brought against him, to punish him in such a way that the sentence which he should deliver should resound throughout the land. In order to obtain information regarding all the accusations that were brought against Cortés, he [Ponce de Leon] took along with him the records of all the matters they were talking of and alleging, as well as instructions as to where he was to take the Residencia. He promptly started on his journey and voyage with three ships (I do not remember exactly whether there were three or four), and, with the good weather he experienced, reached the port of San Juan de Ulua and at once disembarked and came to the town of Medellin. As soon as it was known who he was, and that he had come as judge to take the Residencia of Cortés, a Mayordomo of Cortés named Gregorio de Villalobos sent post haste to inform Cortés, and within four days he knew it in Mexico. And Cortés marvelled to hear of the sudden arrival, for he would have wished to

know it as early as possible so that he could go and give him the greatest honour and reception that he was able.

At the time when the letters reached him he was in the Monastery of San Francisco, and about to receive the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with much humility he prayed God to aid him in all things. When he heard that the news was quite true, he at once despatched messengers to find out who those were who were coming, and whether they brought letters from His Majesty. Two days after the messengers had arrived with the first news there came three messengers sent by the Licentiate Luis Ponce with letters for Cortés, and one was from His Majesty, from which he learned that His Majesty had ordered his Residencia to be taken.

When he saw the Royal Letters he kissed them with great reverence and humility, and placed them on his head and said that he was receiving a great favour, in that His Majesty was sending someone who would listen to him with fairness, and he immediately sent messengers with a reply to Luis Ponce himself, with pleasant words and assurances much better expressed than I know how to write them. He asked him to give him notice by which of the two roads he wished to come to Mexico, for there was one road in one direction and another by a short cut, so that he might have prepared all that was suitable for a servant of such a mighty King and Lord.

When the Licentiate saw the nature of his reply, he answered that he was very tired from his voyage and that he wished to rest for a few days, and gave him many thanks and acknowledgments for the great goodwill that he showed.

Now some settlers in that town who were enemies of Cortés, and some others whom Cortés had brought with him from the expedition to Honduras, who were not on good terms with him (they were amongst those whom

he had deported from Panuco), wrote letters from Mexico to Luis Ponce, and other opponents of Cortés told him that Cortés wished to have the Factor and Veedor executed before the Licentiate could go to Mexico. Moreover they told him that he should look well to his personal safety, for, if Cortés wrote to him with so many assurances and [tried] to find out by which of the two roads he wished to come, it was in order to kill him, and that he should place no faith in his words and assurances. They told him many other iniquities which they said Cortés had perpetrated as well on Narvaez as on Garay, and about the soldiers whom he had left abandoned in Honduras, and the three thousand Mexicans who had died on the journey, and about a Captain named Diego de Godoy whom he left settled there with thirty soldiers, all of them invalids, and it was believed that they were dead, (it turned out to be true what they said about Godoy). They begged him at once to go post haste to Mexico, and not to worry about doing anything else, and implored him to take warning from the affair of Captain Narvaez and that of the Adelantado Garay, and that of Cristóbal de Tápia who refused to obey him, whom he made to embark and return whence he had come; and they told him many other hurtful things and nonsense against Cortés in order to create prejudice, and they even made him believe that Cortés would not obey him. When the Licentiate Luis Ponce heard all this, he had in his company other gentlemen, namely the Chief Alguacil Proaño, a native of Córdova, and his brother, and one Salazar de la Pedrada who came as Alcaide of the fortress and soon died of pleurisy, and a Licentiate or Bachelor named Marcos de Aguilar, and one Bocanegra of Córdova, and certain Dominican Friars and their Provincial, one Fray Tomas Ortiz, who they say had been for some years Prior in some country

of which I do not remember the name; and about this monk who was their Prior, all who came in his company said that he was more diligent in looking after business than after the office he held. To go back to my story—Luis Ponce took counsel with these gentlemen whether he should go to Mexico at once or no, and all advised him not to tarry by day or night, believing that the rumours were true about the iniquities of Cortés, so that when messengers from Cortés arrived with more letters in reply to those which the Licentiate had written, and brought many fresh supplies for him, the Licentiate was already close to Iztapalapa, where he was given a great reception on account of the great happiness and contentment that Cortés felt at his coming. He ordered a very sumptuous banquet for him, and after being well served at the dinner with many and excellent viands, Andrés de Tápia (for so he was called), who acted as steward at that feast, suggested as an appetizing and novel matter, and at that time a new thing in those countries, that His Excellency might like to be served with cream and curds. All the gentlemen who dined there with the Licentiate were delighted that they should be brought, and ate of them, and the cream and curds were very good, and some of them ate so much of them that their greed turned and overflowed. This I state as true, that when I eat them my stomach turns because they are cold, but others had no sensation of their having done any harm in the stomach. Then that Friar named Fray Tomas Ortiz, who came as Provincial Prior, said that the creams and curds had been mixed with realgar[1] and that he did not wish to eat them for fear of it, and others who ate there said that they saw the Friar eat of them to repletion, and he had said that they were very good,

[1] Realgar = red sulphide of arsenic.

and because Andrés de Tápia served as steward they suspected him of a thing that never entered his head. To go back to our story—Cortés was not present at this reception at Iztapalapa and remained in Mexico.[1] Then, as Iztapalapa is two leagues from Mexico, he had men posted to advise him at what hour they were coming to Mexico, and Cortés went out to receive him with all the horsemen that Mexico could turn out. With Cortés himself went Gonzalo de Sandoval, and the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the Accountant and all the Municipality and the Conquistadores, and Jorge de Alvarado and Gomez de Alvarado (for Pedro de Alvarado was not in Mexico but in Guatemala whither he had gone in search of Cortés), and many other gentlemen came out who had recently arrived from Castile. When they met on the Causeway great respect was shown between the Licentiate and Cortés, and the Licentiate in every way appeared[2] very reserved,[3] giving himself airs in the matter of Cortés shaking hands with him, not wishing to take his hand, and they paid each other compliments until he took it. When they entered the City the Licentiate expressed admiration at the great fortress which was in it, and at the many cities and towns which he had seen on the lake, and said that he felt sure that there had never been a Captain in the world who, with so few soldiers, had won so many countries and captured such a strong city. As they went along talking of this they proceeded straight to the Monastery of Señor San Francisco where Mass was at once said. When Mass was

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "there was a report that on his behalf he sent very secretly to Luis Ponce a good present of blocks and bars of gold, and they say he would not accept it."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "a true gentleman."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "a very courteous and upright judge."

over Cortés asked the Licentiate Luis Ponce to exhibit the Royal Decrees and decide to carry out what His Majesty had ordered him to do, because he [Cortés] was obliged to seek justice against the Factor and the Veedor, and he [Luis Ponce] replied that it should stand over till next day.

Cortés then, accompanied by all the horsemen who had come out for the reception, took him to lodge in his palaces, which were all hung with tapestry, and to a very stately dinner served with so much gold and silver plate and so well arranged that Luis Ponce himself said secretly to the Chief Alguacil Proaño, and to one Bocanegra, that from all his arrangements and speeches and deeds Cortés certainly appeared to have been a great lord for many years past.

I will cease speaking of these praises and say that the next day they went to the principal church, and, after Mass had been said, he [Luis Ponce] ordered the Municipality of the City to be present, and the officers of the Royal Exchequer, and the Captains and Conquistadores of Mexico, and when he saw them all together, in the presence of the two notaries (one on behalf of the Municipality and the other whom Luis Ponce brought with him), he presented his Royal Decrees. Cortés with great respect kissed them and placed them on his head, and said that he obeyed them as commands and edicts of his Lord and King, and would fulfil them with his breast to the ground, and so did all the gentlemen and Conquistadores and the Municipality and His Majesty's officials. After this had been done the Licentiate took the wands of justice from the Chief Alcalde and the subordinate Alcaldes, and from the Hermandad[1] and Alguacils, and after he had them in his possession he

[1] An association forming a minor Court of Justice.

gave them back to all of them, and said to Cortés: "Señor Capitan, this Government of your Excellency His Majesty has commanded me to take over for myself, not because you cease to be worthy of many other and greater offices, but we are obliged to do what our Lord and King commands us." Cortés with great respect gave him thanks for this, and said that he was ready to do what he was ordered to do in the service of His Majesty, which his Excellency would quickly perceive, and, through the evidence and the investigation to which he would subject him, would learn how loyally he had served our Lord the King, and would understand the malignity of certain persons who had already gained a hearing from him with advice and letters full of malice. The Licentiate replied "Wherever there are honest men there are also others who are not, for such is the way of the world, and those who have received benefits from a man will speak well of him and those who have suffered wrongs will do the contrary."

Thus that day passed, and the next day after hearing Mass, which was said in the palaces where the Licentiate was lodging, he [Luis Ponce] sent a gentleman with much respect to summon Cortés, and in the presence of Fray Tomas Ortiz who had come as Prior—no other persons being present, only those three in secret—the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon said to him [Cortés], with much respect: "Señor Capitan, Your Excellency should know that His Majesty commanded and charged me that to all the Conquistadores who left the Island of Cuba and were present at the capture of these lands and cities, and to most of the Conquistadores who arrived later, I should give assignments of good Indians, and should give precedence and should favour the former somewhat more, and this I say because I am informed that many of the Conquistadores who came with Your Excellency hold poor assignments, and you have given

the better ones to persons who have now lately come from Castile, who do not deserve them. If this is so, His Majesty did not give you the Government for this purpose but to carry out his royal commands."

Cortés replied that he had given Indians to all, and that the luck of each one was that good Indians fell to the share of some, and to others not such good ones, but that he [Luis Ponce] could correct this, as he had come for that purpose, and the Conquistadores were worthy of it. He [Luis Ponce] also asked him what had become of all the Conquistadores whom he had taken with him to Honduras, and how it was that he left them there abandoned and dying of hunger. They had especially told him about one Diego de Godoy, whom he left as leader of a company of thirty or forty men at Puerto de Caballos, and that the Indians had probably killed him, for all [his companions] were very ill (and what they told him turned out to be true as I shall relate further on), and that it would have been well if, after capturing that great city and New Spain, they should have remained to enjoy the reward and rest, and that he should have taken those who had lately arrived to labour and form settlements there; and he asked after Captain Luis Marin and many of the soldiers and about me. Cortés replied that in matters of assault and wars he did not dare to go to distant lands unless he took trustworthy soldiers, and that they would soon reach the city, for they ought already to be on the road, and that His Excellency [Luis Ponce] should assist them in every way and give them good assignments of Indians.

The Licentiate Luis Ponce also asked him with pleasant words how was it that he had gone on such a long and distant journey against Cristóbal de Olid without having His Majesty's permission, leaving Mexico

in danger of being lost. To this Cortés replied that, as His Majesty's Governor and Captain General, it seemed to him to be advisable in His Majesty's interest, in order that other Captains should not revolt, and that he reported it first to His Majesty. In addition to this [the Licentiate] asked him about the capture and defeat of Narvaez, and how the fleet and soldiers of Francisco de Garay were lost, and what he died of, and why he forced Cristóbal de Tápia to embark; and he asked him about many other things which I do not record here, all in the presence of Fray Tomas Ortiz.

And Cortés replied to them all, giving very good reasons, so that Luis Ponce appeared to be partially satisfied. All these questions that he asked him he brought in a memorandum from Castile, and many others were about things they had told him on the road and had communicated to him in Mexico. As Fray Tomas Ortiz was present at these questionings, when they had finished talking and Cortés had gone to his quarters, the Friar secretly took aside three Conquistadores, who were friends of Cortés, and told them that Luis Ponce intended to cut off Cortés' head, for such were the orders he had brought from His Majesty, and to that end he had asked him what I have recorded. Early in the morning of the following day this same Friar very secretly addressed Cortés in these words: "Señor Capitan, on account of my great regard for you, and as my duty and religion [impel me] to offer advice in such cases, I give you to know, Señor, that Luis Ponce brings decrees from His Majesty to have you beheaded."

When Cortés heard this, after they had carried on the conversations reported by me, he became very distressed and thoughtful. On the other hand they had told him that the Friar was ill-conditioned and seditious, and that he had better not believe much of what he said, and it

seemed as though he had addressed these remarks to Cortés to ensure his taking him as intercessor and petitioner, so that the decree should not be carried out against him, and in order that Cortés should give him some bars of gold for it. Other persons reported that Luis Ponce told it to Cortés in order to frighten him, so that he should implore not to be beheaded. When Cortés perceived this, he replied to the Friar with much courtesy and with great promises that he would give him the wherewithal to return to Castile, and Cortés told him that he had confidence that His Majesty, as a most Christian King, would send to confer favours [on him] for his many and great services which he had always rendered him, and would not find that he had done him any disservice whatever; this confidence which he held he likewise placed in Señor Luis Ponce de Leon as a person who would not go beyond what His Majesty had commanded him. When the Friar heard this, and found that Cortés did not beg him to become his intercessor with Luis Ponce, he became disconcerted, and I will relate what more happened, for Cortés never gave him any of the money he had promised him.

CHAPTER CXCII.

How the Licentiate Luis Ponce, after he had exhibited the Royal Decrees and met with obedience, ordered the Residencia of Cortés and those who had held judicial office to be proclaimed, and how he fell ill of sleeping sickness and died of it, and what else happened.

AFTER he [the Licentiate] had exhibited the Royal Decrees, and they had been obeyed with much reverence by Cortés, by the Municipality, and by the rest of the Conquistadores, he ordered a Residencia General to be proclaimed against Cortés and against those who had

held judicial office, and had been Captains. Since many persons were ill-disposed towards Cortés, and others were in the right in what they petitioned, what haste they made to lodge complaints of Cortés and to present witnesses, so that the city was seething with lawsuits and claims made against him! Some said that he did not give them the share of gold they were entitled to, others brought action because he did not give them Indians in accordance with His Majesty's commands, but gave them to servants of his father, Martin Cortés, and to other unworthy persons, servants of noblemen of Castile; others claimed for horses killed in the wars, for although there had been much gold with which he could have paid them, he had not satisfied them, in order to keep the gold himself. Others lodged complaints on account of personal insults that they suffered by order of Cortés, and one Juan Juarez, his brother-in-law, brought a wicked claim against him on account of Cortés's wife Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda. At that time a Fulano de Barrios had arrived from Castile, and Cortés married him to a sister of Juan Juarez and sister-in-law of his [own], and that claim which Juan Juarez had brought was settled for the time.

This Barrios is the man with whom one Miguel Díaz had a lawsuit about half the pueblo of Mestitan, as I have stated in the chapter that speaks about it.

To return to our Residencia—As soon as the Residencia was begun it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ on account of our sins and misfortune that the Licentiate Luis Ponce fell ill of sleeping sickness, and it happened in this way: coming from the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, after hearing Mass, he got a very severe fever and took to his bed and remained four days unconscious and out of his right mind, and most of the day and night he was asleep. When this was observed by

the doctors who attended him, namely the Licentiate Pero López and Doctor Ojeda, and another physician whom he [Luis Ponce] had brought from Castile, they unanimously agreed that it would be advisable for him to confess himself and receive the Holy Sacraments, and the Licentiate himself desired it most willingly.[1] After receiving them with humility and with great penitence he made his will, and appointed as his Lieutenant Governor the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, whom he had brought with him from the Island of Hispañola. Others say that this Marcos de Aguilar was a Bachelor and not a Licentiate, and that he had not the qualities for command. He [Ponce] left the power to him with this condition, that all the matters of lawsuits and contentions and Residencias, and the Edicts concerning the Factor and Veedor, should remain in the condition he left them until His Majesty had been informed of what had happened, and that they should at once send a messenger in a ship to His Majesty. When his will was made and his soul composed, on the ninth day after he had fallen ill he gave up his soul to Our Lord Jesus Christ. As soon as he was dead, the mourning and grief which the Conquistadores, one and all, felt was very great, and they wept for him as though he had been the father of them all, for he certainly came to assist those whom he should find to have served His Majesty faithfully, and he made this public before he died, and it was found in the decrees and instructions which he brought from His Majesty, that he was to give the best assignments of Indians to the Conquistadores, so that they should experience improvement in everything.

Cortés and most of the gentlemen of that City put on

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "for he was a very good Christian of very many virtues."

mourning, and they carried him [the body] to bury it with great pomp at [the monastery of] Señor San Francisco, and with all the wax [candles] that could then be obtained. His burial was most solemn considering those times.

I have heard it said, by certain gentlemen who were present when he fell ill, that, as Luis Ponce was a musician and a man of naturally cheerful disposition, in order to cheer him up they went to play a guitar to him and give him a serenade, and he ordered them to play him a dance, and as he lay in bed he beat time with his fingers and feet and moved them about until the dance was finished, and at the very moment the dance ended he lost power of speech.

When he was dead and buried as I have related, one could hear the muttering there was in Mexico among persons who were hostile to Cortés and Sandoval, for they said and declared that they had given him [Luis Ponce] poison from which he died, and that he had done the same to Francisco de Garay, and he who insisted on it most was Fray Tomas Ortiz, already mentioned by me before, who came as Prior of certain Friars whom he [Luis Ponce] brought in his company, who also died of sleeping sickness within two months, as well as some of the other Friars. I also wish to state that it appears that the pestilence was caught in the ships in which Luis Ponce came, for more than one hundred persons who came in them caught sleeping sickness and disease of which they died at sea, and, after disembarking, many others died in the town of Medellin. Even of the Friars, very few survived, and among those who died was the Provincial or Prior who died within a few months; and there was a report that sleeping sickness spread in Mexico.

CHAPTER CXCIII.

How, after the death of the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar began to govern, and the disputes that arose about it; and how Captain Luis Marin and all those of us who were in his company chanced to meet Pedro de Alvarado who was marching in search of Cortés, and how both parties rejoiced, because the country was hostile and could not be traversed without great danger.

WHEN Marcos de Aguilar undertook the Government of New Spain in accordance with the will of Luis Ponce de Leon, many persons who were on bad terms with Cortés and all their friends and the majority of the Conquistadores wished the Residencia to be proceeded with as the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon had begun it, but Cortés objected that he [Aguilar] could not deal with it under the authority of Luis Ponce de Leon's last will, however, if Marcos de Aguilar desired to go on with it, that he was welcome to do so.

Another objection was raised by the Municipality of Mexico urging that Luis Ponce had no power to dispose in his will that the Licentiate Aguilar should govern alone, firstly because he was very old, in his dotage, and crippled with tumours, and had little authority and showed this in his appearance, and he knew nothing about the affairs of the country nor had he informed himself about them, nor about the persons who were worthy. Moreover, they would neither respect him nor dread him. It might [therefore] be best for him to take Cortés as his colleague in the government, until His Majesty should order otherwise, in order that all should fear [him] and the justice of His Majesty be greatly revered.

Marcos de Aguilar replied that he would depart neither much nor little from what Luis Ponce ordered in his will, and that he must govern alone, and that if they intended

to install another Governor by force they would not be doing what His Majesty commanded. Added to what Marcos de Aguilar said, Cortés was afraid of further steps being taken, notwithstanding the speeches which the proctors of the cities and towns of New Spain made to him that he should endeavour to become Governor, and that they would persuade Marcos de Aguilar to [agree to] it by sound arguments, for it was clear that he was very infirm, and it would be to the service of God and of His Majesty. However, for all they said to Cortés, he would never touch on that point again but [preferred] that the aged Aguilar should be sole governor, although he was so infirm and consumptive that he was provided with a Castilian woman to suckle him, and some she-goats that he might drink their milk as well. At that time a son whom he had brought with him died of sleeping sickness in the same way that Luis Ponce died.

I will leave this to its proper time, as I wish to turn far back in my story and relate what was done by Captain Luis Marin, who stayed behind with all the people at Naco, awaiting a reply from Sandoval in order to know whether or not Cortés had embarked, and we received no reply whatever. I have already told how Sandoval left us to go and force Cortés to embark and go to New Spain, and promised to write to us what happened, so that we could go with Luis Marin on the road to Mexico; and, although Sandoval and Cortés wrote on two separate occasions, we never received a reply, and Sayavedra never cared to write to us. So it was decided by Luis Marin, and all of us who had come with him, that ten mounted soldiers should go quickly to Trujillo to find out about Cortés, and Francisco de Marmolejo went as our Captain, and I was one of the ten. We went inland through a hostile country until we reached Olancho, which is now called Guayape, where the rich gold mines were, and there

we heard the news from two invalid Spaniards and from a Negro how Cortés had embarked a few days before with all the gentlemen and conquistadores who were with him, because the City of Mexico had sent to summon him as all the settlers in Mexico were willing to obey him, and that a Franciscan Friar had come for him ; and that Sayavedra, Cortés's cousin, remained behind as Captain in some hostile towns near by.

We were delighted at the news and at once wrote to Captain Sayavedra, by some Indians of that pueblo of Olancho which was at peace, and in four days a reply came which told us of certain things which have already been stated, and we gave many thanks to God for it, and with forced marches we returned to where Luis Marin was stationed. I remember that we hurled stones at the country we were leaving behind, crying "Stay where you are evil land, for with God's help we will march to Mexico," and continuing our journey we found Luis Marin in a pueblo called Acalteca, and when we arrived with our news he was greatly cheered. Presently we struck the road to a pueblo named Maniani and found there six soldiers belonging to the company of Pedro de Alvarado who were searching for us, and one of them was Diego Lópes de Villa Nueva who is now a settler in Guatemala, and when we recognised each other we embraced, and on asking after their Captain Pedro de Alvarado they replied that he was close by with many gentlemen who had come in search of Cortés, and they told us all that had happened in Mexico, which I have already related, and how they had sent to summon Pedro de Alvarado to become governor, and the reason why he did not go, which I have stated in the chapter that treats of the subject. Continuing our march, within two days we met Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers near a town called Chuluteca Malalaca.

One can hardly describe his delight when he knew that Cortés had gone to Mexico, for it released him from the laborious journey which he was to take in search of him, and was a relief to them all.

While we were there in this pueblo of Chuluteca, there arrived at the same time certain Captains of Pedrarias de Ávila named Garavito and Canpañon, and others whose names I forget, and, according to what they said, they came to explore the country and to settle boundaries with Pedro de Alvarado. After we arrived at that pueblo with Captain Luis Marin we all stayed together there for three days—the people of Pedro Arias de Ávila and Pedro de Alvarado and ourselves.

From this place Pedro de Alvarado sent Gaspar Arias de Ávila, who was [afterwards] a settler in Guatemala, to discuss certain matters of business with the Governor Pedro Arias de Ávila, and I have heard say that it was about marriages, for Gaspar Arias de Ávila paid great court to Pedro de Alvarado.

To go on with our journey—the people of Pedro Arias stayed in that pueblo and we continued our march towards Guatemala. Before reaching the province of Cuscatlan[1] it rained heavily, and a river called Lempa came down in flood and we had no means whatever of crossing it, so we decided to fell a tree called a Ceiba, and it was large enough to make into a canoe, larger than any that had ever been seen in these parts. With great labour we crossed the river in five days, and there was a great scarcity of maize. After the passage of the river we came on some pueblos which we called "los Chaparristiques," for such is their name, where the Indians, natives of those pueblos, killed a soldier named Nicuesa and wounded three of our men who had gone to search

[1] A province of Salvador.

for food. We went to rescue them, and they [the Indians] were already routed, but in order to avoid delay they were left unpunished, and this happened in the province where now the town of San Miguel is settled.

From there we entered the province of Cuscatlan, which was hostile, and we found plenty to eat, and from there we came to some pueblos near to Petapa. The Guatemaltecos had some hills intrenched on the road and some very deep gullies where they awaited us, and we were three days in capturing and passing them. There they wounded me with an arrow, but the wound was of no importance.

Then we came to Petapa, and the next day came upon this valley, which they called the [valley of the] cross-eyed, where now this city of Guatemala[1] is settled. At that time it was altogether hostile and we found many barricades and pits, and we fought with the natives to force a passage; and I remember that as we were descending a slope the earth began to tremble so that many soldiers fell to the ground, for the earthquake continued a long time.

Then we went to the site of the old city of Guatemala,[2] where the Caciques named Zinacan and Sacachul used to reside. Before entering the city there was a very deep gully where the squadrons of Guatemaltecos were waiting to prevent our entry, and we made them flee, unfortunately for them, and went on to sleep in the city, and the lodgings and houses were good and the buildings very fine, in fact befitting Caciques who ruled all the neighbouring provinces. From there we went out to the plain and built ranchos and huts, and stayed in them for ten days, for Pedro de Alvarado sent twice to summon the people of Guatemala and other pueblos in the neigh-

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[1] Now Antigua. [2] Iximché.

bourhood to make peace, and we waited the time I have mentioned to learn their reply. As none of them would come in, we went on by long days' marches without halting to where Pedro de Alvarado had left his army settled, for it was a hostile country and he had left his brother named Gonzalo de Alvarado there as Captain.

The village where we found them was called Olintepec, and we rested there several days and then we went to Soconusco and thence to Tehuantepec. At this time two Spaniards, settlers in Mexico, who had come with us on that toilsome march, died, as well as a Mexican Cacique named Juan Velásquez, one of Guatemoc's Captains, already mentioned by me. Then we went post haste to Oaxaca, for by that time we had got to know about the death of Luis Ponce and other things already related by me, and they said much good of him, and that he came to carry out what His Majesty had ordered, and we could hardly await the hour of our arrival in Mexico.

Then, as we were [a company] of over eighty soldiers with Pedro de Alvarado among them, when we arrived at a pueblo named Chalco we sent messengers thence to inform Cortés that we would enter Mexico on the following day, so that they might have quarters prepared for us, for we were arriving very much worn out, as it was more than two years and three months since we set out from that city. When it was known in Mexico that we had reached Iztapalapa, Cortés and many gentlemen came out on the causeway to receive us, and when we arrived, before going anywhere else, we went to the principal church to give thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ who had brought us back to that City. From the Church Cortés took us to his Palace, where they had prepared a grand feast for us very well served. Alvarado's quarters were already prepared, as the fortress was then his home,

for at that time he was appointed Alcayde of the fortress and the arsenal. Sandoval took Captain Luis Marin to lodge in his house, and Andrés de Tápia took me and another friend named Captain Miguel Sánchez to lodge in his house, and he paid us great honour. Sandoval sent me clothes in which to array myself, and gold and cacao to spend, and so did Cortés and other settlers in the city to soldiers and friends among those who had come there.

The following day, after commending ourselves to God, I and my companion Captain Luis Sánchez set out through the city, and we took with us as intercessors Captain Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia, and we went to see and speak to the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, who, as I have said, was governor through the authority that Luis Ponce had left to that effect. The mediators who went with us, whom I have already said were Captain Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia, made a statement to Marcos de Aguilar concerning our persons and services, in order to beg him to give us Indians in Mexico, as those in Coatzacoalcos were of no use to us. After many speeches and promises which he made to us on the subject, he said that he had no authority either to give or take away any Indians whatever, for so Luis Ponce de Leon left in his will when he died, that all the affairs and lawsuits and unemployed Indians in New Spain should remain in the condition in which they stood until His Majesty should send to order otherwise; that if he were sent authority for [assigning] Indians he would give us the best he could find in the country. We then took our leave of him.

At this time a certain Diego de Ordás, very often mentioned by me, arrived from the Island of Cuba,[1] and as it

[1] Blotted out in the original: "who had gone to purchase mares and calves, as I have originally stated."

was he who had written the letter to the Factor stating that all of us who had gone out from Mexico with Cortés were dead, Sandoval and other gentlemen asked him with very bitter words why he had written this, when he neither knew nor possessed any evidence of it, and [added] that those letters which he sent to the Factor were so mischievous that New Spain might have been lost through them. Diego de Ordás replied with solemn oaths that he never wrote such a thing, but only that he had received news from a pueblo named Xicalango that the pilots and sailors of two ships had quarrelled and killed each other, and that the Indians had ended by killing certain sailors who were left in the ships, and that if the letters themselves should be produced they would see if it were not true; and that if the Factor altered them or substituted others he [Diego de Ordás] was not to blame, and if Cortés wished to find out the truth,—the Factor and Veedor were [still] prisoners in the cages. However, Cortés did not dare to bring them to justice on account of the orders left by Luis Ponce de Leon, and as he had many other contentions [on hand] he decided to keep quiet in this case of the Factor until orders came from His Majesty, and he was afraid lest further ill consequences should follow; also because at that time he made claim that they should return a great quantity of his property which they had sold, and spent for funeral honours and to say Masses for his soul, although those funeral honours and Masses were celebrated with malice and to instil belief throughout the city, and they conferred benedictions and paid funeral honours to Cortés and ourselves so that it should be believed to be true that we were all dead. Concerned in these lawsuits a settler in Mexico, called Juan Cáceres the rich, purchased the benedictions and Masses which had been celebrated for the soul of Cortés, to be applied to that of Cáceres.

I must stop telling old stories and will relate how Diego de Ordás, who was a man of good counsel, seeing that they no longer respected Cortés and took no account of him after the coming of Luis Ponce de Leon, and that the Government had been taken from him and many persons were insolent to him and held him of no account, advised him to claim treatment as a nobleman, and style himself "My Lord," and to assume a title and not be called simply Cortés but Don Hernando Cortés. Ordás also told him that he should remember that the Factor was a servant of the Commendador Mayor, Don Francisco de los Cobos, the man who ruled all Castile, and that some day he might need the help of Don Francisco de los Cobos, and that Cortés himself was in no great favour with His Majesty nor with the members of his Royal Council of the Indies, and that he had better beware of killing the Factor until he was sentenced by the Courts, for there were strong suspicions in Mexico that he [Cortés] wished to despatch and kill him in the cage itself.

As we now come to the point, I wish to state before going on with my story, why I am so concise in all that I write, and, when it comes to conversations, in mentioning Cortés I have not called him and will not call him Don Hernando Cortés, nor by other titles of Marquis or Captain, but only plainly Cortés. The reason of this is because he himself preferred to be called simply Cortés, and at that time he was not a Marquis, for this name of Cortés was as highly considered and esteemed throughout Castile[1] as that of Julius Cæsar or Pompey was in the time of the Romans, or in our times we hold that of Gonzalo Hernández surnamed "The Great Captain," or among the Carthaginians that of Hannibal, or of that

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and in many parts of the Christian world."

valiant and never vanquished gentleman Diego García de Paredes.

Let us stop talking of these past glories and I will relate how at that time the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada married his two daughters, one to Jorge de Alvarado, brother of Don Pedro de Alvarado, and the other to a gentleman named Don Luis de Guzman, son of Don Juan de Sayavedra Count of Castellar, and then it was arranged that Don Pedro de Alvarado should go to Castile to beg His Majesty to grant him the Government of Guatemala, and while he was away he sent Jorge de Alvarado as his Captain for the pacification of Guatemala. When Jorge de Alvarado went, he took with him on the road more than two hundred Indians from Tlaxcala, Cholula, Mexico and Guacachula and other provinces, and they aided him in the wars. At that time also Marcos de Aguilar sent to settle the province of Chiapa, and a gentleman named Don Juan de Enríquez de Guzman, a near relation of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, went [with this expedition]. He also sent to settle the province of Tabasco, which is on the river called Grijalva, and a gentleman named Baltazar Osorio, a native of Sevile, went as Captain. He also sent to pacify the pueblos of the Zapotecs, which stand among very high sierras, and there went as Captain one Alonzo de Herrera, a native of Jérez, and this Captain was one of Cortés' soldiers. Not to enumerate at present what each of these Captains did in his conquests, I will leave the account of them until the proper time and season shall arrive, and I wish to relate how at this time Marcos de Aguilar died, and what happened about the will he made that the Treasurer should become Governor.

CHAPTER CXCIV.

How Marcos de Aguilar died, and by his will appointed the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada as Governor (but he was not to give judgment in the suits of the Factor or Veedor, nor to grant or take away Indians, until His Majesty should ordain what was most to his advantage), in the same way as Luis Ponce had delegated his authority to him.

WHILE Marcos de Aguilar held the government, as I have stated, he was very consumptive and suffering from boils, and the doctors ordered him to be suckled by a woman of Castile, [by which means] and the milk of goats he supported himself for about eight months, then from those diseases and fevers which he caught he died.

In the will which he executed he enacted that the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada should be sole Governor, with neither more nor less powers than he himself had received from Luis Ponce de Leon.

The Cabildo of Mexico and the procurators of certain cities, who at the time happened to be in Mexico, realised that Alonzo de Estrada would not be able to govern as well as the circumstances required, for the [following] reason: Nuño de Guzman, who two years previously had come from Castile to govern the province of Panuco, occupied the border-lands of Mexico, claiming that they belonged to his province. He came full of fury and regardless of the orders His Majesty had given in the decrees relating to the matter, which he had brought [with him]. Then because a settler from Mexico named Pedro Gonzáles de Trujillo, a man of high birth, had said that he did not wish to stay under his rule but under that of Mexico (because the Indians of his "encomienda" were not natives of Panuco), and on account of other words that passed; without giving him [Pedro Gonzáles] a chance to defend himself, he ordered him to be

hanged. In addition to this, he committed other follies, and hanged another Spaniard in order to make himself feared, and he had no respect for, and took no notice of, the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada, although he was Governor, nor did he hold him in such reverence as he was in duty bound to do. When they observed these follies of Nuño de Guzman, the Cabildo of Mexico and other gentlemen residents, in order to inspire Nuño de Guzman with fear, and make him obey His Majesty's commands, entreated the Treasurer to associate Cortés with himself in the government, as it would be to the advantage and to the service of God our Lord and of His Majesty. However, the Treasurer would not do so. Other persons said that Cortés did not wish to accept, in order that no malicious [persons] should [be able to] say that he wanted to assume the government by force, also because there were murmurs that suspicion attached to the death of Márcos de Aguilar, and that Cortés had caused it, and given him the dose from which he died. It was arranged that Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was Chief Alguacil, and a person held in very high esteem, should govern conjointly with the Treasurer, and the Treasurer thought well of it, but other persons alleged that if he agreed, it was in order to marry his daughter to Sandoval, for if the marriage took place he would be far more highly esteemed, and perchance would obtain the Government, for at that time this New Spain was not thought so much of as it is to-day.

During the Government of the Treasurer and Gonzalo de Sandoval, it seems that there were such crazy people in the world that one Fulano Proaño, who, it was said at that time, had gone to Jalisco fleeing from Mexico, and who afterwards became a very rich man, got into a dispute with the Governor Alonzo de Estrada, and made use of discourtesy of such a nature that I will not repeat

it here. Sandoval, who as governor should have arrested Proaño and tried the case, did not do so. Rumour said that he rather encouraged him to commit the atrocious crime and take to flight, whither he could not be got at, in spite of all the great efforts the Treasurer made to arrest him. [Moreover] a few days after this insult had taken place, another most evil crime was committed, in that they placed on the doors of the Treasurer's house some foul and very evil libels, and although it was well known who placed them there, seeing that justice could not be obtained, he [Sandoval] let it pass, and from that time onward the Treasurer was very ill disposed towards Cortés and Sandoval, and he detested them as very evil things.

Let us leave this and I will relate that at that time, when the plan was afoot which I have already mentioned for associating Cortés in the Government with the Treasurer—and they gave him Sandoval as a colleague, as I have related—Alonzo de Estrada was advised to go post haste in a ship to Castile and to give an account of it to His Majesty, and they even persuaded him to say that it was by force that they gave him Sandoval as an associate, as I have already related, because he did not wish and would not consent to Cortés governing with him. In addition to this, certain persons who were not on good terms with Cortés wrote other letters on their own account, and in them stated that Cortés had ordered poison to be administered to Luis Ponce de Leon and to Marcos de Aguilar and also to the Adelantado Garay[1]; for it was believed that in some curds which they gave him at a pueblo named Iztapalapa, there was realgar, and on that account a friar of the order of Santo Domingo would

[1] Blotted out in the original: and they even made the ecclesiastic named Fray Tomas Ortiz write this, he who was Provincial of Santo Domingo and had come from Castile with Luis Ponce de Leon.

not eat them[1]; and all this that they wrote was abomination and treachery which they stirred up against him.

They also wrote that Cortés wished to kill the Factor and Veedor.

At that time there also went to Castile the accountant Albornoz, who was never on good terms with Cortés. When His Majesty and the members of the Royal Council of the Indies saw the letters I have mentioned speaking evil of Cortés, and made enquiries of the accountant Albornoz regarding the affair of Luis Ponce and that of Marcos de Aguilar, it told very heavily against Cortés. Besides, they had heard about the defeat of Narvaez and about Garay and Tápia and the story of Catalina Juarez la Marcayda, his first wife, and they were misinformed about other matters and believed what they [the enemies of Cortés] had now written to be true. His Majesty promptly ordered by decree that Alonzo de Estrada should be the sole governor, and approved whatever he had done and the assignment of Indians he had made. He also ordered the Factor and Veedor to be released from their prisons and cages and their property to be returned to them. A ship came post haste with the decrees, and, in order to punish Cortés for the crimes of which he was accused, he [the Emperor] ordered a gentleman named Don Pedro de la Cueva, Grand Commander of the order of Alcántara, to proceed at once and to take with him three hundred soldiers at the expense of Cortés, and if he found him guilty to cut off his head, and [the heads] of those

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[1] Blotted out in the original: and in addition to this they sent with the letters some copies of defamatory libels against Cortés which they found on one Gonzalo de Campo, in which it was said: "Oh! Fray Hernando Provincial, more complaints go about your person before His Majesty than those of the Duque de Arxona before his general," and I omit quoting five other documents which they wrote against him, for they are not fit to be advanced against a brave man such as Cortés.

who, together with him, had done any wrong to His Majesty, and to give the pueblos taken from Cortés to us, the true Conquistadores. He also ordered a Royal Audiencia to be ready to come, thinking that by this means true justice would be done. While the Comendador Don Pedro de la Cueva was preparing to set out for New Spain, either owing to certain discussions which took place later on at court, or because they did not give him as many thousand ducats as he demanded for the voyage, or because they believed that justice could be done through the Royal Audiencia [alone], or [may be] because the Duque de Bejar went surety for us as he had done on other occasions, his voyage was put off.

I must return to the Treasurer, who, when he saw himself thus favoured by His Majesty, and, having been so many times governor, that now again His Majesty had ordered him to be sole governor—and they had even made the Treasurer believe that our Lord the Emperor had been told that he was a son of the Rey Católico—became puffed up with pride and had reason for it. The first thing he did was to send a cousin of his, named Diego de Mazariegos, as Captain to Chiapa, with instructions to take the Residencia of Don Juan Enríquez de Guzman, who had been sent as Captain by Marcos de Aguilar, and it was found that he had committed more robberies and quarrels than he had bestowed benefits on that province. He also sent to conquer and bring to peace the pueblos of the Zapotecs and Mijes, and they were to go in two divisions so that they [the pueblos] might more easily be brought to peace. [In command of] the division [marching] from the north he sent a Fulano de Barrios, reported to have been a Captain in Italy and very valiant, who had recently come to Mexico from Castile (I do not mean the Barrios of Sevile who was Cortés's brother-in-law), and he gave him over one hundred soldiers and among them

many musketeers and crossbowmen. When this Captain reached the pueblos of the Zapotecs, which are called the Tiltepeques, the native Indians of those pueblos sallied out one night and fell on the Captain and his soldiers, and so sudden was the attack that they killed Captain Barrios and seven other soldiers and wounded most of the others, and, if they had not all quickly taken to their heels[1] and found refuge in some friendly pueblos, all would have fallen. Here one can see the superiority of old Conquistadores over those recently come from Castile, who know nothing about warfare with Indians nor of their cunning. This put an end to that conquest.

I must tell now about the other Captain who went by way of Oaxaca. He was named Figueroa, a native of Cáceres, and was also reported to have been a very valiant Captain in Castile, and a great friend of the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada. He also took with him one hundred soldiers newly arrived in Mexico from Castile, many of them musketeers and crossbowmen, and ten of them even cavalrymen. When they reached the province of the Zapotecs he sent to summon one Alonzo de Herrera, who was stationed in those pueblos as Captain of thirty soldiers by order of Marcos de Aguilar while he was governor, as I have related in the chapter which treats of the subject. Alonzo de Herrera, having obeyed the summons (for it seems that Figueroa brought authority to place him [Herrera] under his orders), on certain disputes taking place and because he would not remain in his [Figueroa's] company, they came to drawing swords, and Herrera wounded Figueroa and three of his soldiers who came to his assistance.

When Figueroa saw that he was wounded and one of his arms maimed, he did not dare to penetrate into

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[1] "Tomaran Calzas de Villadiego" (adage).

the mountains of the Mijes, which were very lofty and difficult to take; moreover, the soldiers he had brought with him knew nothing about conquering such countries. He determined to undertake the excavation of the graves in the burial places of the Caciques of those provinces, for he found in them a quantity of golden jewels which it was the custom in olden days to bury with the chieftains of those pueblos, and he attained such dexterity that he took out from them over five thousand pesos de oro, in addition to other jewels obtained from the pueblos. So he determined to abandon the conquest, and he left some of the pueblos in which he stayed more hostile than he found them, and he went to Mexico and thence to Castile, and the soldiers went each his own way.

When Figueroa had embarked at Vera Cruz, and was already on his way to Castile with his gold, such was his luck that the ship in which he sailed met with a furious head gale near Vera Cruz, and he and his gold were lost, and fifteen passengers were drowned, and everything was lost. Thus ended the expeditions which the Treasurer sent to make conquests, and those pueblos were never pacified until we settlers from Coatzacoalcos conquered them.

As the mountains are so lofty that horses cannot be used, I racked my body on the three occasions that I was present at those conquests, for although we might bring them to peace in the summer, as soon as the rains began they again rebelled, and killed such Spaniards as they were able to catch straying. However, as we always followed them up, they were brought into subjection and a town was founded [there] named San Alifonso.

Let us get on, and stop calling to mind disasters of Captains who did not know how to conquer, and I will relate that when the Treasurer knew that they had wounded his friend Captain Figueroa, he sent promptly

to arrest Alonzo de Herrera, but was not able to capture him because he fled to the mountains, and the Alguacils whom he sent after him brought back as prisoner a soldier, one of those whom Herrera used to have with him, and when he arrived in Mexico, without granting him a hearing, the Treasurer ordered his right hand to be cut off. The soldier was named Cortejo and he was a gentleman by birth.

In addition to this, at that time a page of Gonzalo de Sandoval had some dispute with one of the Treasurer's servants, and stabbed him, at which the Treasurer was very wroth and ordered his hand to be cut off; and this happened at a time when neither Cortés or Sandoval were in Mexico, for they had gone to a great pueblo named Cuernavaca, and they went there so as to remove themselves from Mexico from tumults and gossip, and also to settle certain questions which had arisen between the Caciques of that pueblo.

Then, as soon as Cortés and Sandoval learned by letter that Cortejo and the page were prisoners, and that they intended to cut off their hands, they at once came to Mexico, and when they had spoken and found that there was no help for it, they felt this affront which the Treasurer had put both on Cortés and Sandoval deeply. It is said that Cortés addressed such words to the Treasurer in his presence that he would not listen to them, and was even afraid that they intended to kill him, and on account of this fear the Treasurer summoned soldiers and friends to protect him, and he released the Factor and Veedor from the cages, so that as officials of His Majesty they might help one another against Cortés.

After they had been released about eight days, the Treasurer was advised by the Factor and other persons who were not on good terms with Cortés that in any

case he should at once banish Cortés from Mexico, for as long as he [Cortés] remained in the city he could never govern properly or secure peace, for there would always be bands of robbers and factions. As soon as this banishment was signed by the Treasurer they went to notify Cortés, who said that he would comply with it very readily, and that he thanked God that, in being banished from the land and city which he and his companions had discovered and gained, through the shedding of much blood and the deaths of so many soldiers, he was thus repaid by persons who were in no way worthy of the offices which they held from His Majesty, and that he would go to Castile to report it to His Majesty and demand justice against them, and that it was gross ingratitude on the part of the Treasurer who was forgetful of the favour [he] Cortés had shown him. He left Mexico at once and went to one of his towns named Coyoacan, and thence to Texcoco, and a few days later to Tlaxcala.

At that time the wife of the Treasurer named Doña Marina Gutiérrez de la Cavalleria, certainly worthy of good remembrance for her many virtues, when she learned what her husband had done in releasing the Factor and Veedor from the cages and in banishing Cortés, on account of the great anxiety she felt, said to her husband, the Treasurer: "Pray God that the things you have done will not turn out badly," and she reminded him of the benefits and favours which Cortés had conferred on them, and the Indian pueblos which he had given them, and [said] that he should endeavour to make friends with him again so that he could return to the City of Mexico, and that he should take great care that they did not kill him; and she said so many things to him that, according to what many persons report, the Treasurer repented of the banishment and even of having released those named by me from the cages, for

in every matter they restrained him and were very hostile to Cortés.

At that time there came from Castile Don Fray Julian Garçes, who was the first Bishop of Tlaxcala and a native of Aragon, and, in honour of the most Christian Emperor our Lord, called himself Carolense; he was a great preacher, and as soon as he came to his Bishopric of Tlaxcala and knew what the Treasurer had done in banishing Cortés, it appeared to him very wrong, and so as to make peace between them he came to a city often mentioned by me, named Texcoco, and, as it is close to the lake, he set out with two large canoes in company with two priests and a friar and his baggage, and came to the City of Mexico. Even before his arrival they had heard in Mexico of his coming, and they went out to receive him with great pomp, and with all the Crosses, and Clergy and religious orders, and the Cabildo and Conquistadores and gentlemen and soldiers, who could be found in Mexico.

After the Bishop had rested for two days, the Treasurer put him forward as mediator to go to the place where Cortés was residing at that time and make them friends again, as he was repealing the decree of banishment so that he [Cortés] could return to Mexico.

The Bishop went off and discussed this [proposed] friendship, but he could effect nothing with Cortés; on the contrary, as I have said, he went on to Texcoco and Tlaxcala accompanied by many gentlemen and other persons.

What Cortés was engaged on was the collection of all the gold and silver he could gather together in order to go to Castile, and in addition to what they gave him as tribute from his pueblos, he pledged other rents and those of his friends and Indians who were willing to assist him. Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia made

the same preparations and gathered together and collected all the gold and silver they were able from their pueblos, for these two Captains went in company with Cortés to Castile.

While Cortés was at Tlaxcala, many of the settlers from Mexico and other cities went to see him, also soldiers who had no assignment of Indians, and the Caciques from Mexico went to offer their services, and, as there are always turbulent men ready for strife and novelty, these went to advise him that, if he wished to raise himself to be King of New Spain, now was his opportunity, and that they would help him to do so. Cortés made prisoners two of the men who came with this suggestion, and treated them severely, calling them traitors, and was about to hang them. There was also brought to him a letter from other bandits which was sent to him from Mexico, in which they told him the same thing, and, according to rumour, this was done to tempt Cortés so as to catch him in some expressions which might fall from his lips concerning this evil opportunity. As, however, Cortés was always faithful to His Majesty, he uttered threats against those who came to him with these proposals, that they should not come before him again with these suggestions of treason or he would order them to be hanged, and he promptly wrote to the Bishop that he should tell the Treasurer, who, as Governor, should order the traitors who came with these proposals to be punished, [to see to it], otherwise he would himself order them to be hanged.

Let us leave Cortés in Tlaxcala getting ready to go to Castile, and return to the Treasurer and the Factor and Veedor, for just as men who were bandits and longed for disturbances and to mix in tumults came to Cortés, so they went to the Treasurer and Factor and said that Cortés was collecting men to come and kill them, although

he spread the report that he was going to Castile, and it was for that reason that all the Caciques of Mexico and Texcoco and nearly all the pueblos around the lake were in his company, waiting to see when he should order them to begin the attack.

Then the Factor and Veedor were in great fear, believing that he [Cortés] was going to kill them, and in order to enquire and find out if it were true they again importuned the same Bishop to go and see what was the matter, and they wrote with great concern to Cortés asking pardon. The Bishop thought that going to visit Tlaxcala with the intention of creating friendship was a worthy act, and as soon as he arrived where Cortés was staying (after the whole province had come out to receive him), and observed the great loyalty of Cortés and what he had done in arresting the bandits, and the words he had written on that subject, he promptly sent a messenger to the Treasurer and said that Cortés was a very loyal gentleman and faithful servant of His Majesty, and that one might place him in the list of the most famous servants of the Royal Crown of our times, and as for his present occupation it was to provide for his journey and go before his Majesty, and they might drop all suspicion of what had been in their minds. He also wrote that he thought it ill-advised to have banished him [Cortés] and that he [the Treasurer] did not hit the mark on that occasion. It is reported that he said in the letter he wrote: "Oh, Señor Tesorero Alonzo de Estrada, how you have spoiled and muddled this affair."

Let us leave this affair of the letter, for I do not remember whether Cortés returned to Mexico to leave instructions with the persons to whom he gave authority to look after his estate and house, and demand tribute from the pueblos of his encomienda, except that he left a general power of attorney to the Licentiate Juan

Altamirano, a person of great repute, and to Diego de Campo, Alonzo Valiente, and Santa Cruz Burgales, but above all the others to Altamirano. He had already collected many birds differing from those found in Castile, which was a thing well worth seeing, and two tigers and many kegs of coagulated liquid amber and balsam, and another of oil; and four Indians skilful in juggling with a stick with their feet, which in Castile and in all other places would be a thing worth seeing, and other Indians, distinguished dancers, who were accustomed to use some sort of contrivance, so that to all appearance they seem to fly in the air while dancing; and he took three Indian humpbacks who were monstrosities, for their bodies appeared broken and they were very dwarfish. He also took Indian men and women who were very white, and owing to their great whiteness they did not see well. Then the Caciques of Tlaxcala begged him to take in his company three sons of the principal chieftains of that province, and among them was a son of the old blind Xicotenga, who was afterwards called Don Lorenzo de Vargas, and he took other Mexican Caciques.

When his departure was arranged, he received news from Vera Cruz of the arrival of two good and swift ships which brought him letters from Castile, and I will go on to relate their contents.

CHAPTER CXCV.

How letters came to Cortés from Spain from Don Garcia de Loaysa, Cardinal of Siguenza, who was President of the [Council of] the Indies and soon afterwards Archbishop of Seville, and from other gentlemen, [advising him] in any case to come at once to Castile, and they brought the news that his father Martin Cortés was dead, and what he did about it.

I HAVE already related in the last chapter what took place between Cortés, the Treasurer, the Factor, and the Veedor, and the reason of his banishment from Mexico, and how the Bishop of Tlaxcala came on two occasions to attempt a reconciliation, and how Cortés, who would not [allow himself to] be influenced in the least by letters or in any other way, got ready to go to Castile. At that very moment letters came to him from the President of the Indies, Don Garcia de Loaysa, and from the Duque de Bejar and other gentlemen, in which they told him that, during his absence, complaints against him had been laid before His Majesty, and the complaints contained reports of many ill deeds and deaths which he had caused to be inflicted on those who had been sent out by His Majesty, and that in all events he should return to defend his honour. They also brought him news that his father Martin Cortés had died, and when he saw those letters he was greatly grieved both on account of the death of his father and also for what they falsely said that he had done; and he put on mourning, although he already wore it for the death of his wife Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda. He showed great grief about his father and paid him as great funeral honours as he was able, and if hitherto he had been eager to go to Castile, from this time forward he made the greater haste about it, for he at once ordered his Mayordomo, named Pedro Ruiz de Esquivel, a native of Seville, to go to Vera Cruz and buy the

two ships which had arrived there and had the reputation of being new and swift, and he was preparing biscuit and salt beef and bacon and all that was necessary for ships' stores very completely, as was befitting a great and rich lord such as Cortés, [including] all such things as could be found in New Spain that were of use on a voyage, and preserves which had come from Spain, and they were so abundant and of such variety that what was left over [when they arrived] in Castile would have sufficed for two ships for another couple of years, even if they had carried many more men.

As the Mayordomo was crossing the Lake of Mexico in a large canoe on his way to a pueblo named Ayotzingo, which is where they disembark from the canoes, and, in order to do more quickly what Cortés had ordered, passed by that place and took with him six Mexican Indian rowers and a negro and certain bars of gold, [somebody] whoever it may have been, laid in wait for him on this same lake and killed him. It was never known who [did the deed] nor were the canoe or the Indians who rowed it or even the negro ever seen again, only about four days later Esquivel was found on an island in the lake, his body half eaten by birds of prey.

Over the death of this Mayordomo there was much conjecture, for some said that he was the sort of man who boasted of things that he himself said happened with mistresses and other ladies, and they spoke of other evil things which they said he did, and on this account he was hated, and there were suspicions about many other things which I will not mention here. His death was never made clear, nor was it much enquired into, nor [did the question] who killed him rouse any deep interest.

Cortés promptly sent other Mayordomos to get the ships ready for him and put in all the provisions and pipes of wine, and ordered proclamation to be made that

whoever wished to go to Castile, he would give them food and a passage free of charge, provided they went with the permission of the Governor. Then Cortés, accompanied by Gonzalo de Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia and other gentlemen, went to Vera Cruz, and after they had confessed and received Communion they embarked. It pleased our Lord God to give him such a passage that in forty-two days he arrived in Castile, without stopping at Havana or at any other island, and he disembarked near the town of Palos near to Our Lady of Rabida, and as soon as they were safely on shore, they fell on their knees on the ground and raised their hands to heaven, giving many thanks to God for the mercies he had always shown them.

They arrived in Castile in the month of December, in the year fifteen hundred and twenty seven. It appears that Gonzalo de Sandoval was very unwell, and sorrow followed on their great joy, for it pleased God within a few days to take him from this life at the town of Palos. The house where he lay belonged to a ropemaker who made ship's tackle, cables and hempen rope, and before he [Sandoval] died he [the rope-maker] stole from him thirteen bars of gold. Sandoval saw him with his own eyes take them from a box, for the rope-maker waited until no one remained in Sandoval's company or he was cunning enough to send Sandoval's servants post haste to La Rabida to summon Cortés. Although Sandoval saw this [done] he did not dare to cry out for, as he was very feeble, languid and ill, he feared the rope-maker (who looked to him to be a ruffian,) would clap a pillow or bolster over his mouth and suffocate him. This host at once fled to Portugal with the bars of gold and nothing was recovered.

Let us return to Cortés, who, as soon as he knew that Sandoval was very ill, came in all haste to where he was,

and Sandoval told him of the crime that his host had committed, and how he had robbed him of the bars of gold and had fled, and, although they made the greatest efforts to recover them, as he had taken refuge in Portugal, he kept possession of them.

Sandoval grew worse of his malady day by day, and the doctors who were attending him advised him to confess at once and receive the holy sacraments and make his will. This he did with great piety and ordered many legacies for the poor as well as to monasteries, and he named Cortés as his executor and a sister of his, Maria (or sisters), as heiress, who later on married a bastard son of the Conde de Medellin, and after he had prepared his soul and made his will he gave up his spirit to our Lord God who created him.

Great grief was felt at his death, and they buried him in the Monastery of Our Lady of La Rabida with all the pomp that was possible, and Cortés and all the gentlemen in his company put on mourning. May God pardon him, Amen.

Cortés then sent a messenger to His Majesty, and to the Cardinal de Siguenza, to the Duque de Bejar, the Conde de Aguilar and other gentlemen, to announce his arrival at that port, and that Gonzalo de Sandoval had died, and he made a report on the quality of his person and the great services which he had rendered to His Majesty, and that he was a Captain of high reputation, esteemed both as a commander of armies, and for his personal valour. When these letters reached His Majesty, he was delighted at the arrival of Cortés, but he was grieved at the death of Sandoval, for he had already great reports of his magnanimous personality, so too was the Cardinal Don Garcia de Loaysa and the Royal Council of the Indies. Moreover, the Duque de Bejar, the Conde de Aguilar, and other gentlemen

rejoiced greatly, although all regretted the death of Sandoval.

The Duque de Bejar together with the Conde de Aguilar proceeded forthwith to give His Majesty further particulars, for he [Bejar] had already received Cortés' letter, and stated that he was well assured of the loyalty of the men whose sponsor he had become, and that a gentleman who had rendered him [the Emperor] such eminent services would in all other matters prove his loyalty, and that he was grateful to his King and Lord, as was now clearly shown by his acts. This was said by the Duke because at the time they were making accusations and alleging many evil things against Cortés to His Majesty, and he had pledged his head and his fortune three times as surety for Cortés and all of us soldiers who were in his company, that we were very loyal and faithful servants of His Majesty and worthy of great favours, for at that time Peru had not been discovered, nor had it the glamour that it afterwards possessed. His Majesty then sent orders to all the cities and towns, through which Cortés should pass, to show him every honour, and the Duque de Medina Sidonia gave him a great reception in Seville, and presented him with some very fine horses. After he had rested there two days, he went by long stages to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe to hold novenas,[1] and such was his good fortune that at the same time the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, wife of the Comendador Mayor[2] de Leon, Don Francisco de los Cobos, arrived, who had brought in her company many ladies of high rank, and among them a young lady her sister. When Cortés learned this it gave him much pleasure and as soon as he arrived

[1] Nine day devotions.

[2] Head of the Military order.

and had worshipped at the shrine of Our Lady and given alms to the poor and ordered masses to be said (for he was in mourning for his father and his wife and for Gonzalo de Sandoval), he went well attended by the gentlemen he had brought from New Spain, and others who had joined his service, to pay his respects to the Lady Doña Maria de Mendoza and the maiden lady her sister, who was very beautiful, and to all the other ladies who had come with them.

Cortés was very courteous and cheerful in every way, and the fame of his great deeds rang throughout Castile, and [the gift of] conversation and graceful expression did not fail him, and above all he showed himself very open-handed, and, as he had riches to give away, he began making valuable presents of many golden jewels of many different shapes to all those ladies, and besides the jewels he gave them plumes of green feathers full of gold and silver work and of pearls, and in all that he gave he showed preference for the Lady Doña Maria de Mendoza and her sister. After he had made those rich presents he gave to the young lady, for herself alone, certain slabs of very fine gold, so that she might make jewels of them. After this he ordered much liquid amber and balsam to be given them so that they might perfume themselves, and he ordered the dexterous Indian jugglers to perform with the stick with their feet so as to give entertainment to those ladies, and they [the jugglers] passed the stick from one foot to the other, a thing which pleased them and caused them wonder to behold. In addition to all this, Cortés found out that one of the mules of the litter in which the young lady had come had gone lame, and secretly he ordered two good ones to be bought and given to the Mayordomos who had charge of her service. He remained in that town of Guadalupe until they set out for the Court, which at that time was at Toledo, and accom-

panied them, paying them attentions and giving banquets and fêtes, and proved himself to be the perfect courtier who well knew how to represent and act the part, so that the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza proposed to him marriage with her lady sister. If Cortés had not been betrothed to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga, a niece of the Duque de Bejar, he certainly would have received great favour from the Comendador Mayor de Leon and from the Señora Maria de Mendoza his wife, and His Majesty would have given him the government of New Spain.

Let us stop talking about this marriage, for all things are guided and directed by the hand of God, and I will relate how the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza wrote in haste to her husband the Comendador Mayor de Leon, greatly extolling the affairs of Cortés, [saying] that the fame that he had acquired by his heroic deeds was nothing in comparison to what she had seen and known of his personality and conversation and openhandedness, and she related to him other excellencies she had noticed in Cortés, and the services he had rendered her, and [added] that she might consider him her devoted courtier, and that he should inform His Majesty of it all and beg him to grant him favours. As soon as the Comendador Mayor saw the letter of his wife he was very pleased with it, and as he was the most intimate friend of our Lord the Emperor that there was, or had been in our times, he took the letter itself to His Majesty of Glorious Memory, and on his own behalf entreated him to favour him [Cortés] in all things, and this His Majesty did, as I shall relate further on.

Some time after Cortés had arrived at the Court, the Duque de Bejar and the Admiral told Cortés himself in sport, that they had heard His Majesty say, when he knew that he [Cortés] had come to Castile, that he was

desirous to see and know personally one who had rendered him so many great services, and of whom they had related so many iniquities that he had perpetrated with craft and cunning.

After Cortés's arrival at Court, His Majesty had quarters allotted to him, while the Duque de Bejar on his own part, and that of the Conde de Aguilar and other great Lords his relations, sallied forth to receive him, showing him much honour. Next day by His Majesty's permission he went to kiss his royal feet, taking in his company as mediators, so as to dignify him the more, the Admiral of Castile, the Duque de Bejar and the Comendador Mayor de Leon.

After Cortés had asked leave to speak, he knelt on the ground and His Majesty bade him rise, then he set forth his many services and all that had happened in the conquests, and the journey to Honduras, and the plots hatched in Mexico by the Factor and Veedor, and related all that he could call to mind, and as it was a very long story, so as not to weary him with other matters, he said: "Your Majesty must be tired with listening to me, and for so great an Emperor and monarch of all the world as is your Majesty, it is not fitting that a vassal such as I should be so daring, and as my tongue is not accustomed to converse with your Majesty, it may be that my meaning is not expressed with that proper respect that I ought to show. I have here a memorandum in which your Majesty can note, if so inclined, all the events in detail as they happened." Then he fell on his knees to kiss his feet for the favour he had deigned to show him in having listened. Then our Lord the Emperor bade him rise, and the Admiral and the Duque de Bejar said to His Majesty that he was worthy of great favour, and he [the Emperor] created him Marques del Valle and caused certain pueblos to be

bestowed upon him, and further ordered him to be invested with the insignia of Santiago, and as they did not assign revenues with them he kept silent at the time; I do not well know in what manner [it was arranged]. He also appointed him Captain General of New Spain and the South Sea. Then Cortés again bowed down to kiss his royal feet, and His Majesty once more bade him rise.

A few days after he had received these great favours Cortés fell ill and was so exhausted that they thought he would die, and the Duque de Bejar and the Comendador Mayor, Don Francisco de los Cobos, entreated His Majesty that, as Cortés had rendered him such distinguished services, he would go to visit him at his lodging before he died, and His Majesty went attended by Dukes, Marquesses and Counts, and by Don Francisco de los Cobos, and visited him, and it was a very great favour and as such it was looked on by the Court.

Later on when Cortés was recovered, one Sunday when His Majesty was already in the Cathedral attended by Dukes, Marquesses and Counts, and they were seated in their places according to the style and rank by which among them they were accustomed to take their seats, Cortés arrived rather late at Mass, on purpose, and, as he was considered such an intimate of His Majesty, and the Conde de Nasao and the Duque de Bajar and the Admiral held him in favour, he passed in front of some of those illustrious noblemen with his mourning train held up, and went to seat himself near the Conde de Nasao who had his seat nearest to the Emperor. And when he was seen to pass in front of those great and illustrious noblemen without apology, they murmured at his great presumption and daring and considered it disrespectful, and they could not credit him with the good manners he was reputed to possess. Among these Dukes

and Marquesses was the Duque de Bejar and the Admiral of Castile and the Conde de Aguilar, and they answered that this was not to be attributed to want of consideration on the part of Cortés, because His Majesty, in order to honour him, had commanded him to sit near the Conde de Nasao, and moreover, His Majesty ordered them to mark and take note that Cortés and his companions had conquered so many countries that all Christendom was beholden to him, while they had inherited the position they held for services which had been performed by their ancestors, and because Cortés was betrothed to his [the Duque de Bejar's] niece, His Majesty directed him to be honoured.

To return to Cortés, I must state that finding himself so exalted by his intimacy with our Lord the Emperor and with the Duque de Bejar, the Conde Nasao and even the Admiral, and that he already had the title of Marquis, he began to hold himself in such high esteem that he was not as attentive as he should have been to those who had favoured him and helped him towards His Majesty's conferring the Marquisate on him, neither to the Cardinal Fray Garcia de Loaysa, nor to Cobos nor to the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, nor to the Members of the Royal Council of the Indies, for all were neglected. All his attentions were for the Duque de Bejar, the Conde de Nasao and the Admiral, thinking that the game was well started by his being intimate with such great noblemen, and he began to beg His Majesty, with much persistence, to bestow the Government of New Spain on him, and on this account he again recited his services and [said] that if he were governor he would undertake the discovery of very rich islands and countries in the South Sea, and he placed himself at his service with many ceremonious expressions. He even employed again as mediators the Conde de Nasao and the Duque de Bejar,

and the Admiral, and His Majesty answered that he should be content with having been given the Marquisate with the highest revenue, that he must also reward those who had helped him to acquire the country, for, as they had conquered it, they were worthy of enjoying it. From this time on the intimacy he enjoyed [with His Majesty] began to wane, for, according to what many say, the Cardinal, who was President of the Royal Council of the Indies, and most of the other noblemen who were consulted by His Majesty about the affairs and rewards of Cortés, were of opinion that he should not be made Governor; others say that the Comendador Mayor and the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza were somewhat opposed to him, because he paid little attention to them. Anyhow, for one reason or the other, our Lord the Emperor would not listen to him any more however much he was importuned about the Government.

Presently His Majesty went to Barcelona to embark for Flanders, and many Dukes, Marquises, Counts, and great noblemen accompanied him, and Cortés himself went as far as Barcelona, already bearing his title of Marquis, and he was constantly urging those Dukes and Marquises to intercede with His Majesty to bestow the Government on him, and His Majesty in reply bade the Conde de Nasao not to speak to him again on that subject, for he had given him [Cortés] a Marquisate with greater revenue than he the Conde de Nasao possessed with all his rank.

Let us leave His Majesty embarked on a prosperous voyage, and return to Cortés and some of the grand festivals arranged for his nuptial ceremony, and the rich jewels which he gave to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga his wife, which were of such quality, according to what some say who had seen them and their preciousness, that more valuable ones had never existed in Castile. Our

Lady the most serene Empress Doña Ysabel wished to possess some of them on account of what the lapidaries told her, and it is said regarding certain pieces which Cortés had presented to her, that he had made a mistake, or he did not intend giving her some of the most precious, such as those he gave to his wife Doña Juana de Zuñiga.

I must stop calling to mind other things that happened to Cortés in Castile during the time he remained at Court, where he made ostentation with much festivity, and according to what persons say who came from there and had been in his company, there were rumours that Our Lady the most Serene Empress Doña Ysabel was not so well disposed regarding the affairs of Cortés as when first he arrived at Court, as she had found out that he had been ungrateful to the Cardinal and the Royal Council of the Indies, and even to the Comendador Mayor de Leon and to the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, and she got to know he possessed other very rich [precious] stones, better than those he had given to her; notwithstanding all this that was reported to her she ordered the members of the Royal Council of the Indies to assist him in every way. Then Cortés agreed to send, for a given number of years, at his own expense, two ships of war to the South Sea, well found and with sixty soldiers and captains with all kinds of arms, to discover Islands and other countries, and that for whatever he might discover he should be granted certain favour; these contracts I will pass over, for I do not now remember them.

At that time Don Pedro de la Cueva, Comendador of Alcántara, brother of the Duque de Albuquerque, was at Court, and this gentleman was he whom His Majesty had sent to New Spain with a great escort of soldiers to cut off Cortés's head if he should find him guilty, and the heads of any other persons who had done any disservice to His Majesty, and when he saw Cortés

and knew that His Majesty had created him a Marquis and that he was about to be married to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga, he was greatly rejoiced at it, and daily meetings took place between Don Pedro de la Cueva and the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés, and he told Cortés that, if by chance he should have gone to New Spain and taken the soldiers His Majesty commanded him, however loyal and justified he had found him to be, he [Cortés] would have had to pay the cost of the soldiers and even of his own journey, a matter of more than three hundred thousand pesos, so that he [Cortés] did better by presenting himself before His Majesty. They held many other conversations which I will not relate here, about which persons who were present at them wrote to us from Castile, as well as all the other matters mentioned by me in the chapter that treats of it. Besides, our proctors wrote whole chapters on the subject, and even the Marquis himself mentioned the great rewards he obtained from His Majesty, but he did not give the reason why he was not given the Government.

Let us leave this and I will relate how a few days after he was made a Marquis he sent to Rome to kiss the sanctified feet of our Holy Father Pope Clement, for Adrian, who protected us, had been dead three or four years. He despatched a gentleman named Juan de Herrada as his ambassador, and with him he sent a rich present of precious stones and jewels of gold and two Indians dextrous at juggling the stick with the feet, and he reported to him his arrival in Castile, and [mentioned] the countries he had conquered and the services he had rendered to God in the first place and to our great Emperor, and he gave him a full account in a Memorial of those countries, how very extensive they were, and what was their nature, and how all the Indians were idolators and had become Christians, and many

other things which it was proper to mention to our Holy Father. As I did not get to know in detail how this matter ended, I will stop writing about it here, and even this, which I here relate, we came to know later on from Juan de Herrada himself, when he returned from Rome to New Spain, and we learned that he was sent to beg our most Holy Father to remit part of the tithes. In order that curious readers may fully understand—this Juan de Herrada was a good soldier who had gone in our company on the expedition to Honduras when Cortés went, and after his return from Rome he went to Peru, and Don Diego de Almagro appointed him as tutor to his son, the youth Don Diego, and he was most intimate with Don Diego Almagro, who was chief of those who killed Don Francisco Pizarro the elder, and was afterwards Maestre de Campo[1] to Almagro the younger, and was present when he gave battle to Vaca de Castro, when Don Diego Almagro the younger was defeated. To return to what happened to Juan de Herrada in Rome—after he had been to kiss the sainted feet of His Holiness, he presented the gifts which Cortés sent to him,[2] and the Indians who juggled the stick with their feet, and His Holiness greatly appreciated them, and said that he thanked God that such great countries had been discovered in his days, and such numbers of people had embraced our holy faith, and he ordered processions to be made and all to give thanks and praise to God for it, and he said that Cortés and all of us his soldiers had rendered great service, first of all to God, and then to our Lord the Emperor Don Carlos and to all Christendom, and that we were worthy of great reward.

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[1] Quarter-master.

[2] This may have been the occasion on which the Masks mentioned in the Appendix to Vol. I. were presented to Pope Clement VII.

Then he sent us a Bull to absolve us from the blame and punishment of all our sins, and other indulgencies for the Hospitals and Churches, and general pardons, and he approved of all Cortés had accomplished in New Spain in accordance and conformity with what his predecessor Pope Adriano had done, and he wrote to Cortés in answer to his letter, but what was contained in it [his reply] I do not know, for as I have already said it was from this Juan de Herrada and from a soldier named Campo, when they returned from Rome, that I learned what I here write down. According to what they say, after he had been in Rome ten days and had taken the Indians, who were master jugglers with the stick on their feet, before His Holiness and the consecrated Cardinals, who were delighted at the show, His Holiness did Juan de Herrada the honour to make him Conde Palatino, and ordered him a certain number of ducats for his return journey, together with a letter of recommendation to our Lord the Emperor that he should appoint him his Captain, and give him good Indians in assignment. As Cortés no longer held command in New Spain and did not give him any of the things which the Holy Father commanded, he [Herrada] went to Peru, where he became a Captain.

BOOK XVI.

THE RULE OF THE AUDIENCIA.

CHAPTER CXCVI.

How during the time Cortés was in Castile with the title of Marquis, the Royal Audiencia came to Mexico, and with what it was busied.

HILE Cortés was in Castile bearing the title of Marquis, at that time the Royal Audiencia arrived in Mexico according to His Majesty's orders, as I have already stated in the former chapter which deals with the subject. There came as President Nuño de Guzman, who used to be Governor in Panuco, and four Licentiates as Oidores,[1] whose names were Matienzo, said to be a native of Biscay or the neighbourhood of Navarre, and Delgadillo of Granada and one Maldonado of Salamanca (this was not the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado the Good who was governor of Guatemala), and there came the Licentiate Parada who used to be formerly in the Island of Cuba.

When these four Oidores arrived at Mexico, after they

[1] Oidor = Judge or Assessor of the Audiencia.

had been given a great reception on their entry into the City, within fifteen or twenty days of their coming they showed themselves to be thoroughly capable of executing justice, and they brought greater powers than were ever afterwards given to Presidents or Viceroys of New Spain, and this was in order to carry out the perpetual assignment [of Indians], giving preference to the Conquistadores and conferring great rewards on them, for so His Majesty had commanded.

They at once gave notice of their arrival to all the cities and towns which at that time were settled in New Spain, so that they could send Proctors with records and tithe accounts of the pueblos of Indians in each province, so as to make the assignment perpetual. Within a few days there gathered together in Mexico the Proctors from all the cities and towns and even from Guatemala, besides many other Conquistadores.

At that time I was [present] in the City of Mexico as Proctor and Syndic of the town of Coatzacoalcos, where I was then a settler, and when I saw what the President and Oidores required I went post haste to our town for the election of those who should come as Proctors to see to the perpetual assignment. When I arrived, there was a good deal of difficulty about choosing who should go, for some settlers wished their friends to go, and others would not permit it, and as the result of the voting Captain Luis Marin and I were chosen.

When we reached Mexico, nearly all the Proctors of most of the towns and cities who were gathered together demanded the perpetual assignment according to His Majesty's commands.

However, by that time Nuño de Guzman, Matienzo and Delgadillo had already changed their minds, and the other two Oidores Maldonado and Parada had died of pleurisy soon after arriving in the City (and if Cortés

had been there, as there are always evil-minded persons about, they would have denounced him and would have said that he had killed them). To go back to my story, many persons who were very well informed say that it was the Factor Salazar who was the cause of their changing their minds and not making the assignment as His Majesty had ordered, for he became such an intimate friend of Nuño de Guzman and of Delgadillo that they did nothing but what he ordered, and whatever he advised they conceded, so that all came to a standstill. What they [the Oidores] advised was that he [Nuño de Guzman] should on no account grant a perpetual assignment, for if he did so they [the Audiencia] would lose their authority, and the Conquistadores and settlers would not hold them in such high esteem if it were said that he [Nuño de Guzman] could neither deprive them of Indians or grant more than those he should then allot them; but [acting] otherwise he would always have them under his thumb, and could give or take away [Indians] from whomsoever he pleased, and they [the Audiencia] would become very rich and powerful.

It was also arranged between the Factor and Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo that the Factor himself should go to Castile to obtain the Government of New Spain for Nuño de Guzman, for they already knew that Cortés was not so much in favour with His Majesty as when he first went to Castile, and it [the Government] had not been granted to him, notwithstanding all the intercessors whom he induced to plead with His Majesty to give it to him.

When the Factor embarked in a ship named "La Sornosa," it went ashore in a great storm on the coast of Coatzacoalcos, and he was saved in a boat and returned to Mexico, and his journey to Castile never took place.

Let us leave this and I will relate that what Nuño de Guzman and Matienzo and Delgadillo were engaged

on, as soon as they arrived in Mexico, was in taking the Residencia of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, which he rendered very well. If he [Estrada] had proved himself as much a man as we believed him to be, he might have assumed the Governorship, for His Majesty had not dismissed him from the Government, on the contrary (as I have stated in the last chapter), an order had come from His Majesty a few months earlier that the Treasurer should be sole Governor, and not jointly with Gonzalo de Sandoval (who has often been mentioned by me before), and he [His Majesty] had approved of the Assignments which he [the Treasurer] had previously given; and he [His Majesty] did not name Nuño de Guzman in the Decrees otherwise than as President and Assessor in conjunction with the Oidores, and in addition to this, if he [the Treasurer] had taken charge of the Government himself, all the settlers in Mexico, and we Conquistadores who at that time were in the City, would have been in his favour, for we knew that His Majesty had not deprived him of the office he held, and besides we saw that during the time he governed he did justice and had a great good will and much zeal to comply with what His Majesty ordered. Within a few days he died of vexation at it [missing his opportunity].

I must cease speaking of this and relate that what the Royal Audiencia next set about doing was to act in antagonism to the affairs of the Marquis, and they sent to Guatemala to take the Residencia of Jorge de Alvarado, and there went [to do it] one Orduña the elder, a native of Tordesillas, but what happened at the Residencia I do not know.

Then they presented many claims against Cortés through the public prosecutor, and the Factor Salazar on his own account made other claims against him, and the depositions which they brought into Court were

drawn up with very great disrespect and very mischievously worded, and in these depositions they stated that Cortés was a tyrant and traitor who had done many injuries to His Majesty, and many other evil things so malicious that the Licentiate Juan Altamirano (already mentioned by me, who was the person with whom Cortés had left his power of Attorney when he went to Castile) rose to his feet in the Court itself and, doffing his cap, said, with much respect to the President and Oidores, that he prayed his Excellency to order the Factor Salazar to say in the depositions what was respectful, and not permit him to say of the Marquis, who was an upright gentleman and a faithful servant of His Excellency, such malicious and evil words, and that he demanded proper justice. What the Licentiate Altamirano entreated them there in the Court was of no avail, for the Factor had prepared for the following day other most disgraceful depositions, and matters came to such a pass that over these depositions the Licentiate Altamirano and the Factor, there in the presence of the President and Oidores, quarrelled, using evil and offensive terms to one another, and Altamirano drew a dagger and was going to stab the Factor had not Nuño de Guzman and Matienzo and Delgadillo prevented him.

The whole city was at once in a state of disturbance because they had taken the Licentiate Altamirano as a prisoner to the Arsenal, and the Factor to his lodgings, and we Conquistadores went to the President to intercede for Altamirano, and within three days they released him from the prison and we made him and the Factor friends.

Let us leave this disturbance, which was already quieted and friendship restored, and go on ahead, for another greater storm soon broke. This was that there had now arrived here in Mexico a relation of Captain

Pánfilo de Narvaez called Zaballos, whom the wife of Narvaez, named Maria de Valenzuela, had despatched from Cuba in search of her husband Narvaez, who had gone as Governor to the Rio de Palmas, for she had already heard a report that he was lost or dead. He [Zaballos] brought power of Attorney to take possession of his [Narvaez's] properties wherever they might be found, believing that they had been brought to New Spain.

When this Zaballos arrived in Mexico (according to what Zaballos said, and what was rumoured), Nuño de Guzman and Matienzo and Delgadillo persuaded him secretly to lodge a claim and complaint against all the Conquistadores who had joined with Cortés to defeat Narvaez when he lost his eye and when his property was burned. He also demanded [compensation for] the deaths of those who there died.

When Zaballos had made his complaint as they had instructed him, with long declarations about it, they arrested nearly all the Conquistadores who happened to be in the city and were proved to have participated, who numbered more than three hundred and fifty. They also arrested me, and they sentenced us [to a fine of] so many pesos de oro of Tepusque, and they banished us five leagues from Mexico, but they soon repealed the banishment, and even from many of us they never collected the money of the judgment, for it was a small sum. Following this disturbance the persons who hated Cortés made another claim on him, which was that he had carried off much gold and silver and jewels of great value which were acquired in the capture of Mexico, and even the personal treasure of Guatemoc, and gave no share of it to the Conquistadores except eighty pesos, and had sent it in his own name to Castile saying that he thereby served His Majesty, and that he kept the

greater part of it and did not send it all, and what he sent was stolen at sea by Juan Florin a Frenchman or pirate who was hanged at the port of El Pico, as I have related in former chapters, and that Cortés was bound to repay all that Juan Florin stole as well as what he had hidden. They also advanced other claims and all were [decided against him], and they sentenced him to make payment with his possessions, and they sold them. Moreover they found a way and contrived that a certain Juan Juarez, a brother-in-law of Cortés, already often mentioned by me, should publicly enter an action in the Courts about the death of his sister Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda, which he brought forward in the Court as he had been ordered to do, and he called witnesses who said how and in what way her death took place. On top of this another complication ensued, which was that when they brought the claim against Cortés, which I have mentioned, for the personal treasure of Guatemoc and the gold and silver which was captured in Mexico, many of us who were friends of Cortés came together, with the permission of an Alcalde, in the house of one Garcia Holguin, and signed [a statement] that we declined to share in those claims for the gold or the personal treasure, nor as far as we were concerned should Cortés be compelled to pay anything on account of it, and we said that we knew certainly and clearly that he sent it to His Majesty, and we approved of his doing that service to our Lord and King. When the President and the Oidores saw that we were presenting petitions about this they ordered us all to be arrested, saying that without their permission we should not have met together or signed anything, but when they saw the permission [given] by the Alcalde, although they banished us five leagues from Mexico, they soon repealed the banishment, for all that we looked on it as a great hardship and grievance.

Soon after this, a proclamation was issued ordering all descendants within the fourth generation from parents or ancestors who were Jews, Moors, or such persons as had been burned or executed by the Holy Inquisition, to leave New Spain within six months, on pain of the loss of half their property.

It was interesting to watch the accusations made at that time, for each one informed against the other and impeached the other's statements. However, two only left New Spain, one a shop-keeper of Vera Cruz, and the other a Notary of Mexico, and within a year the Notary brought a license to remain in New Spain and married off a daughter whom he had brought from Castile, for he alleged that he had rendered service to His Majesty.

In spite of all these things which the President and Oidores did so perversely, they were not such strict rulers that they carried out [their decisions] with rigour, nor gave sentence except for a few pesos of low grade gold, called Tepuzque, which they even neglected to collect from those who did not [voluntarily] pay it. To the Conquistadores they were very kind, and fulfilled His Majesty's commands in so far as to give Indians to the true Conquistadores, and to none of them did they fail to give Indians, even when [such grants] were suspended, and they conferred many favours on them. What was their undoing was the excessive license they granted for branding slaves,[1] for they granted licenses to deceased persons, and the servants of Nuño de Guzman and of Delgadillo and Matienzo sold these. Then in the case of Panuco they branded so many that they went near to depopulating the province. Furthermore they did not reside in their offices nor take their seats in Court every

[1] Blotted out in the original: "for had they long remained in office New Spain would have been ruined."

day as they were bound to do, [but] went about to banquets, and indulged in love-making and gambling, and some of them were embarrassed by it.[1] Nuño de Guzman, who was generous and of noble rank, sent as a Christmas present a warrant for a pueblo called Guazpaltepeque to the accountant Albornoz, who had arrived a few days before from Castile and came married to a lady named Doña Catalina de Loayza. Rodrigo de Albornoz also brought a license from His Majesty to set up a factory for making sugar at a pueblo called Cempoala, which town was a few years later destroyed.

To go back to our story, Nuño de Guzman bestowed these franchises and branded many Indians as slaves, and gave many annoyances to Cortés, and it was said of the Licentiate Delgadillo that he caused Indians to be given to persons who contributed certain amounts and became his partners, also that he appointed his brother, named Berrio, Chief Alcalde of the town of Oaxaca, and his brother was detected in taking bribes and caused many injuries to the settlers. It was also found out that he had appointed to the townships of the Zapotecs another deputy named Delgadillo like himself, who was also found to accept bribes and perpetrate injustice.

As for the Licentiate Matienzo, he was an old man, and they asserted of him that his vice was drinking too much wine, and that he went too often to the orchards to hold banquets, taking with him three or four convivial men who were hard drinkers, and, when they were all seated and comfortable, that one of them took a wine bag of wine and from afar off with this same wine bag made a cry such as they [use to] call the hawks to the lure, and the old man went as though his wings were clipped to the

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "many days at it."

wine bag and pricked it and drank from it. They also made a charge against him that they spent a whole week and several feast days in dicing, and that Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo and Matienzo were the umpires at it, and greatly preferred dicing to sitting in Court, and they even suspected that many of the [winning] numbers fell to those whom they wished to favour.

There were so many complaints lodged against them, with proofs and even letters from Bishops and ecclesiastics, that when His Majesty and the Lords of the royal Council of the Indies saw the reports and letters which were brought against them, he [His Majesty] promptly ordered that the whole Royal Audiencia should be completely removed without delay, and that they should be punished, and another President and Oidores be appointed who were to be learned and honourable, and fair in doing justice. He also ordered that they should at once go to the province of Panuco to enquire how many thousand slaves had been branded. Matienzo himself went by His Majesty's orders, for this elderly Oidor had fewer charges against him and was a better judge than the others. Furthermore, the licenses which had been issued for branding slaves were declared invalid, and all the irons used for branding were ordered to be destroyed, and from this time onwards no more slaves were to be made, and it was even ordered that a list should be compiled of all those [slaves] which there were in New Spain, so that they should not be sold nor moved from one province to another.

In addition to this he [His Majesty] decreed that all the allotments and assignments of Indians which Nuño de Guzman and the other Oidores had given to relations or hangers on, or to their friends or other persons, were worthless, and immediately, without further argument,

should be taken from them and given to the persons whom His Majesty had ordered to have them.

I should like to call to mind here what lawsuits and arguments arose over this annulment of the Encomiendas of Indians which Nuño de Guzman together with the Oidores had granted. Some protested that they were Conquistadores who were not, others that they were settlers of so many years standing, and that, if they visited or were accustomed to enter the house of the President and Oidores, it was in order to do them service and honour, and to be with them and do what they were ordered by them in matters which were necessary for His Majesty's service, and that they did not enter their houses as servants or hangers on. Each one defended and alleged what was most to his profit, and affairs so turned out that very few of those to whom they had given Indians were deprived of them, except those that I will now mention :— the pueblos of Guazpaltepeque [were taken] from the accountant Rodrigo de Albornoz, to whom Nuño de Guzman had given them as a Christmas present; they also deprived Villaroel, the husband of Ysabel de Ojeda, of another pueblo of Cuernavaca, and they also took away those of a Mayordomo of Nuño de Guzman named Villegas, and of other relations and servants of these same Oidores; some [however] kept them.

When this news which came from Castile was known in Mexico, that the whole of the Royal Audiencia was entirely dismissed, what Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo and Matienzo set about doing was at once to send Proctors to Castile to defend their affairs with evidence of witnesses, whom they intended to select as they pleased, in order that they might say that they were very good Judges and carried out His Majesty's commands, and [give] other assurances to which it would be useful to give utterance, so that in Castile they might be considered good Judges.

Then, in order to choose the persons who should go with authority to represent them, and to discuss matters which were of importance to that city and to New Spain and its Government, they ordered all of us Proctors who held authority from the cities and towns, who happened to be in Mexico at the time, together with certain Conquistadores, persons of quality, to assemble together in the cathedral church, and they expected that we should by our votes choose the Factor Salazar to go as Proctor to Spain. As I have already said before, although Nuño de Guzman, Matienzo and Delgadillo committed some irregularities mentioned by me previously, on the other hand they had been very good to all the Conquistadores and settlers in the matter of giving us Indians who were unemployed, and, relying on this, they thought that we should vote for the Factor, who was the person they wished to send in their name.

When we were assembled in the principal Church of the City, as we were ordered, so great were the cries, confusion and disorder made by a number of persons who had not been summoned on that business, but who entered by force into the church, that although we ordered them to get out of it they would not do so nor even be silent, and finally they shouted as it were in concert. When we saw this we cleared out of the Church and went to tell the President and Oidores that we would postpone it [the election] until next day, and that in the house of the President himself, where the Royal Audiencia meets, we would choose whom we thought advisable. Later on, as it seemed to us they wished us to name only persons who were friends of Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo and Matienzo, we agreed that one person should be chosen on behalf of the Oidores themselves and the other on behalf of Cortés, and Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia was named on behalf of Cortés, and on behalf

of the Oidores, one Antonio Caravajal, who was a Captain of the launches. However it occurred to me at the time that both Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia and Caravajal were much more favourable to the affairs of Nuño de Guzman than to those of Cortés, and they had cause for it, because they [the Audiencia] treated us better and carried out part of His Majesty's orders about giving us Indians, which Cortés never did, although he had been able to give them more easily than anyone during the time he held the Government. Yet as we Spaniards are very loyal, and Cortés had been our Captain, we had more affection for him than he had inclination to do us a good turn, notwithstanding His Majesty's orders to do so, when as Governor he was well able.

When those named by me had already been chosen, other disputes arose about the instructions they were to take with them, for [some] said to the President that it was due to the service of God and of His Majesty and met with the approval of all the Proctors that Cortés should not return to New Spain, for if he were in the country there would always be factions and revolts and no good governors, and perchance he might rise in rebellion. Most of us Proctors contradicted this and [maintained] that he was a very loyal and faithful servant of His Majesty.

At that time Don Pedro de Alvarado, who had come from Castile, arrived in Mexico, and brought with him [the appointment as] Governor of Guatemala and Adelantado, and Comendador of [the order of] Santiago, and he was married to a Lady named Doña Francisca de la Cueva, but that lady died as soon as she arrived at Vera Cruz. Then, as I have said, he reached Mexico, he and all his servants in deep mourning. As soon as he understood the accusations which they were sending on behalf of the President and Oidores, he took steps

that he, the Adelantado, and the other Proctors and some of the Conquistadores should write to His Majesty about all that the Royal Audiencia were attempting to do. When the Proctors already named by me went to Castile with the instructions and charges as to what they were to ask, the Royal Council of the Indies understood that all was aimed against Cortés through passion, and they did not care to do anything agreeable to Nuño de Guzman or the other Oidores, for it had been decreed by His Majesty that they should at once be deprived of their offices.

Moreover, at this time when all was going against him, Cortés was in Castile and stood up for his honour and his position, and he got ready to come to New Spain with the Señora Marquesa his wife and household, and, while he is on the way, I will relate how Nuño de Guzman proceeded to settle the province of Jalisco and succeeded in doing it much better than Cortés, as regards the discoveries he sent to make, as will be seen later on.

CHAPTER CXCVII.

How Nuño de Guzman, [when he] learned from letters which came to him from Castile that His Majesty had ordered him to be deprived of the Presidency, and the Oidores [to be dismissed], and that others would come in their places, decided to go and bring to peace and conquer the province of Jalisco which is now called New Galicia.

When Nuño de Guzman knew through certain letters that he was to be deprived of the office of President, and the Oidores [of theirs], and that other Oidores were coming, and as Nuño de Guzman was still President at that time, he collected all the soldiers he was able, both horsemen and musketeers and crossbowmen, to accom-

pany him to a province called Jalisco, and those who did not go willingly he bribed to go or [sent them] by force, or they had to pay money to other soldiers to go as substitutes, and if they possessed horses he seized them, and at most he paid them half what they were worth. The rich settlers in Mexico assisted as far as they were able,[1] and he took many Mexican Indians with him to help him, some as carriers, others as warriors, and he caused great annoyance in the pueblos through which they passed with his equipage, and they reached the province of Mechuacan as that was on their road.

The natives of that province in times past possessed much gold, and, although it was of low grade (because it was mixed with silver), they gave him a quantity of it. Then because Cazonzin, for so he was called, who was the principal Cacique of the province, did not give him as much gold as he demanded, he tortured him and burnt his feet. Moreover he demanded Indian men and women for his service, and, on account of other petty contentions which they brought against the poor Cacique, he hanged him, which was the wickedest and most brutal thing a President or any other person could do; all those who were in his company considered it ill done and cruel of him.

He took from that province many Indians with loads to where he founded the city now called Santiago de Compostela, at great expense to the Treasury of His Majesty and the settlers from Mexico whom he had brought by force.

I will leave it here, because I was not present on that march.[2] However I know for certain that Cortés and Nuño de Guzman were never on good terms, and

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "by force or willingly."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "nor knew what else happened."

I also know that Nuño de Guzman stayed without interruption in that province until His Majesty ordered them to send to Jalisco for him and to bring him as prisoner, at his own expense, to Mexico, to give an account of the claims and judgments given against him on the petition of Matienzo and Delgadillo before the Royal Audiencia, which had newly come at that time. I will leave him here in this situation and will relate how the Royal Audiencia arrived in Mexico and what it did.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.

How the Royal Audiencia arrived at Mexico, and what it very justly accomplished.

I HAVE already related in the last chapter how His Majesty ordered the dismissal of all the entire Royal Audiencia of Mexico, and annulled the assignments of Indians which the President and Oidores, who composed it, had granted, because they bestowed them on their relations and hangers-on, and other persons who did not deserve them ; and His Majesty ordered them to be taken away and given to the Conquistadores who held poor assignments.

Moreover, when it became known that they were not executing justice, nor carrying out his Royal Commands, he appointed other Oidores to come, who were men of learning and integrity, and charged them to do justice in all things.

There came as President Don Sebastian Ramíres of Villa Escusa, who at that time was Bishop of Santo Domingo, with four Licentiates as Oidores, namely, the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado of Salamanca, the Licentiate Zaynos of Toro or of Zamora, the Licentiate

Vasco de Quirova of Madrigal (who was afterwards Bishop of Mechuacan) and the Licentiate Salmeron of Madrid.

The Oidores arrived in Mexico before the Bishop of Santo Domingo, and two great receptions were given to the Oidores who came first, and also to the President who came a few days later. They at once ordered proclamation to be made of a General Residencia, and many settlers and proctors came from all the cities and towns, and even Caciques and chieftains, and they made so many complaints of the late President and Oidores, and of oppressions, briberies, and acts of injustice they had committed, that the President and Oidores who took their declarations were amazed. Moreover the agents of Cortés put in so many claims on account of the effects and property which had been forcibly sold at auction, as I have previously stated, that, if all that they claimed had been approved, it would have amounted to over two hundred thousand pesos de oro.

As Nuño de Guzman was in Jalisco and had no intention of coming to New Spain to render his accounts, Delgadillo and Matienzo, when their Residencia was taken, pleaded that all those claims which were advanced against them were chargeable against Nuño de Guzman, who as President had in fact given the orders, and they were not responsible for them, and that they should send for him to come to Mexico to answer the charges brought against him.

Although the Royal Audiencia had already sent a writ to Jalisco ordering him to appear personally in Mexico, he would not come, and the President and Oidores, so as not to throw New Spain into confusion, ignored it, but reported it to His Majesty and the Royal Council of the Indies, who on this account promptly sent a Licentiate named Fulano de la Torre, a native of Badajos, to take his Residencia in the province of Jalisco, and bring

him to Mexico and imprison him in the common goal. He was also commissioned to compel Nuño de Guzman to repay to us all the fines he had imposed on us Conquistadores over the affair of Narvaez and the matter of the signatures, when they made us prisoners, as I have related in the last chapter which speaks of it.

I will leave the Licentiate de la Torre getting ready to come to New Spain, and relate in what the Residencia resulted, and it was that they sold the property of Delgadillo and Matienzo to pay the fines which were imposed on them, and, for what they owed in excess and were not able to pay with their possessions, they were imprisoned in the public gaol.

A brother of Delgadillo, named Berrio, who was principal Alcalde in Oaxaca, they found guilty of having committed such injustice and bribery that they sold his property to repay those whom he had robbed, and imprisoned him on account of the claims he could not meet, and he died in prison. Much the same sentence was given against the other relation of Delgadillo, who was Alcalde Mayor of the Zapotecs, who was also named Delgadillo like his relation, and he died in the prison. Truly the newcomers were good and upright Judges in doing justice, who gave no decisions except only as God and His Majesty commanded, and in letting the Indians understand that they would be protected and well taught in our holy doctrine.

In addition to this they at once stopped the branding of slaves and did other good deeds. As the Licentiate Salmeron and the Licentiate Zaynos were old men, they agreed to send and beg permission of His Majesty to return to Castile, and because they had already stayed four years in Mexico, and were rich and had served in the offices to which they had been appointed, His Majesty sent them permission [to leave] after they had rendered their accounts, which they did very well.

The President Don Sebastian Ramírez, who at that time was Bishop of Santo Domingo, also went to Castile, for His Majesty sent to summon him to inform him about affairs in New Spain, and to appoint him President of the Royal Chancery of Granada; and after a certain time he was sent to Valladolid, and, when he arrived there, was given the Bishopric of Tuy. Within a few days that of Leon became vacant and that also was conferred on him, and he was President, as I have said, of the Chancery of Valladolid. Then at that moment the Bishopric of Cuenca became vacant and that was given him; thus one commission followed close upon the other, and because he was a just Judge he rose to the rank I have mentioned. At that time death called him, and it seems to me, according to our Holy Faith, that he is now in Glory with the blessed, for, from what I knew of him and the communication I had with him when he was President in Mexico, he was very just and upright in all things, and he had been the same before he was Bishop of Santo Domingo and Inquisitor in Seville.

I must return to my story, and relate of the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado that His Majesty ordered him to go to the Provinces of Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua as President and Governor, and in all respects he was a good and upright Judge and a faithful servant of His Majesty, and he even obtained the title of Adelantado of Yucatan by an agreement made with his father-in-law Don Francisco de Montejo. As for the Licentiate Quirova, he was so good and virtuous that they gave him the Bishopric of Mechuacan.

Let us stop talking about these who were prosperous on account of their virtues, and I will go on to say of Delgadillo and Matienzo that they went to their homes in Castile very poor men, and not with the best of reputations, and within two or three years they are said to have died.

By this time His Majesty had already commanded that most illustrious and excellent gentleman of praiseworthy memory, Don Antonio de Mendoza, brother of the Marques de Mondejar, to proceed to New Spain as Viceroy; and Doctor Quesada, a native of Ledesma, and the Licentiate Tejada of Logroño accompanied him as Oidores. The Licentiate Maldonado was then still Oidor, for he had not yet left to be President of Guatemala. There also came as Oidor an elderly Licentiate named the Licentiate Loaysa, a native of Ciudad Real, and as he was an old man he stayed three or four years in Mexico and saved up pesos de oro to get back to Castile, and he returned to his home.

A short time after followed a licentiate from Seville, called the Licentiate Santillana, who was afterwards a doctor, and all were very good judges. After they had been given a great reception on their entry to that great city, a Residencia general was proclaimed against the late President and Oidores, and they were all adjudged to be very upright and honourable, and to have acted in conformity with justice.

To go back to my story about Nuño de Guzman, who remained in Jalisco—as the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendosa came to know that His Majesty had ordered the Licentiate de la Torre to go and take his [Guzman's] Residencia in Jalisco and to imprison him in the common gaol, and make him pay the Marques de Valle what he was found to owe him, and also repay us Conquistadores the amount of the fines he had imposed on us over the Narvaez affair; intending to do him a kindness, and so as to avoid his being molested or insulted, he invited him to come to Mexico at once on parole, and assigned his [own] palace as a lodging for him. Nuño de Guzman did as he was told and came at once, and the Viceroy treated him with great distinction, and showed him favour and ate

with him. Just then the Licentiate de la Torre, whose name I have already mentioned, arrived in Mexico, bringing orders from His Majesty to arrest Nuño de Guzman at once and to do justice in all things. Although he announced it first of all to the Viceroy, who apparently showed less good will in the matter than he desired, he decided to remove him [Guzman] from his lodging with the Viceroy where he was staying, and declared loudly: "His Majesty has given his orders, thus this has to be done, and not otherwise," and he carried him off to the public gaol of the City. He was kept a prisoner for some days, until the Viceroy himself interceded for him and they let him out of prison.

While it was acknowledged that de la Torre had sufficiently strong courage not to fail in the execution of justice, and in very honestly taking the Residencia of Nuño de Guzman, as human perversity misses no opportunity to defame when it can do so, and it appears that the Licentiate de la Torre was rather addicted to play, especially to cards, (although he only played at "Triunfo" and "Primavera" for pastime), someone or other went on behalf of Nuño de Guzman and (as at that period it was customary to wear coats with big sleeves and lawyers in particular wore them) placed a pack of small cards in one of the sleeves of the Licentiate de la Torre's coat, and tied the sleeve so that it could not drop out. At the very moment when the Licentiate was walking through the Plaza of Mexico, accompanied by persons of quality, whoever it was who placed the cards in the sleeve found a way to loosen it, and the cards dribbled out a few at a time, and a trail of them was left on the ground of the Plaza where he was walking, and the persons accompanying him, when they saw the cards falling out in that way,[1] told him to look and see what

[1] Blotted out in the original: "went along laughing at it."

he was carrying in the sleeve of his coat. When the Licentiate discovered the great trick he said in great anger, "It is easy to see that they do not wish that I should do justice honestly, but if I do not die I will do it so that His Majesty may hear of this disrespect that has been paid me," and within a few days he fell ill of fever, brooding over this and other things that had happened. He died, and the Royal Audiencia, together with the Viceroy, then promptly transferred the powers held by de la Torre to a gentleman named Francisco Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, who was a very intimate friend of the Viceroy, and everything was done as Nuño de Guzman wished in the Residencia which they held on him. This Francisco Vásquez Coronado some time later was made Captain for the conquest of Cibola, which at that time they called "The Seven Cities," and he left in his place as Governor of Jalisco one Cristóbal de Onate, a person of quality. Francisco Vásquez had been lately married to a lady who was a daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and, in addition to being talented, was very beautiful; and as he went to those cities of Cibola he had a great desire to return to New Spain to his wife. Some of the soldiers who were in his company said that he wished to copy the Greek Captain Ulysses, who when he was before Troy was crazy to go and enjoy his wife Penelope, so did Francisco Vásquez Coronado, who left the Conquest he had undertaken. He was attacked by incipient madness and returned to Mexico to his wife, and as they reproached him for having returned in that way, he died within a few days.

CHAPTER CXCIX.

How Don Hernando Cortés, Marques del Valle, came from Spain, married to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga, and with the title of Marques del Valle and Captain General of New Spain and of the South Sea, and about the reception given to him.

As Cortés had been a long time in Castile, and was already married, as I have said, and had the title of Marquis and Captain General of New Spain and the South Sea, he had a great desire to return to New Spain to his home and estate and Marquisate, and to take possession of his Marquisate; and, as he knew that Mexican affairs were in the condition that I have related, he hastened and embarked with all his household in certain ships, and meeting with good weather at sea he arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, where a great reception was given to him, and he at once went by way of some towns of his Marquisate, and on reaching Mexico he was given another reception, but not so great as he was accustomed to.

What he intended to do was to present his writ as Marquis and have himself proclaimed Captain General of New Spain and of the South Sea, and to demand of the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia the enumeration of his vassals. This seems to me to have been ordered by His Majesty, that he should count them, for, from what I understand when he was given the Marquisate, he petitioned His Majesty to grant him certain towns and pueblos with so many thousand tributary inhabitants; but because I do not know for certain about this I leave it to the gentlemen and other persons who are better informed about the lawsuits which have been brought over this matter; for, when the Marquis asked that grant of vassals from His Majesty, he was under the

impression that they would count each house of an inhabitant or Cacique or chieftain of those towns as one tributary, as though we should now say that grown up sons who were already married should not count, nor sons-in-law, nor the many other Indians who resided in every house for the service of the owner, but that only each householder [should count] as a tributary, whether or no he had many sons and sons-in-law, dependants or servants.

The Royal Audiencia of Mexico [appointed] an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia itself, named the Doctor Quesada, to go and make the count, and he began to count in this way :—the owner of each house as one tributary, and if he had grown up sons, each son as one tributary, and if he had sons-in-law, each son-in-law as one tributary; the Indians that he held in his service, even although they were slaves, counted each one as a tributary so that in many of the houses, ten, twelve or fifteen or more tributaries were counted. Cortés held, and so represented to, and demanded of, the Royal Audiencia, that each house was equivalent to one householder and should be counted as one tributary only. If, when the Marquis begged from His Majesty the grant of the Marquisate, he had explained that he should give him a town, such town with the householders and inhabitants it contained, His Majesty would have granted them, and the Marquis believed and felt sure that in demanding the vassals he had secured that object; however it turned out otherwise, so that there was never any lack of lawsuits, and on this account he was very dissatisfied with the doings of Doctor Quesada who went to make the enumeration, and friction was not wanting even with the Viceroy and the Royal Audiencia, and a report was made to His Majesty by the Royal Audiencia in order to ascertain the way in which the count was to be made.

The counting of the vassals was held in suspense for some years, and the Marquis always exacted his tributes from them without it.

To go back to my story. A few days after this had happened, he went from Mexico to a town of his Marquisate named Cuernavaca; he took the Marchioness with him and made his home there, and never again took her to the City of Mexico. In addition to this, as he had made a contract with the Serene Empress Doña Ysabel, our lady of glorious memory, and with the Royal Council of the Indies, that he would send fleets to the South Sea to discover new lands further on, all at his own cost, he began to build ships at the port of a town, which at that time belonged to his Marquisate, named Tehuantepec, and in the other ports of Zacatula and Acapulco; and the fleets which he sent I will tell about later on, for he had no luck in anything he put his hand to, for all turned to thorns, and Nuño de Guzman succeeded much better, as I will relate later on.

CHAPTER CC.

Of the expenditure which the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés incurred for the fleets which he sent on voyages of discovery, and how he had no good luck at all.

It is necessary to go far back in my story so that what I shall now say may be quite clear. At the time when Marcos de Aguilar was governing New Spain by virtue of the authority which the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon had left him when he died, as I have already stated many times, before Cortés went to Castile, [he], the Marquis del Valle, himself despatched four ships which he had built in a province named Zacatula, well supplied with provisions and artillery, with good sailors and fifty

soldiers and much merchandise and trifles from Castile for barter, and everything that was necessary for victuals, and biscuits for more than a year. And he sent with them as commander-in-chief a gentleman of birth named Álvaro de Sayavedra Zeron, with orders to lay his course for the Moluccas or Spice Islands or China, and this was by the command of His Majesty, which he had written to Cortés from the City of Granada on the twenty-second of June fifteen hundred and twenty-six, and because Cortés showed the letter itself to me and other Conquistadores, who were in his company, I say it and assert it here, and His Majesty even commanded Cortés to order the Captains whom he should send to go and search for a fleet which had sailed from Castile to China, with a certain Don Fray Garcia de Loayza, Knight Commander of the order of St. John of Rhodes, as Captain.

At the time when Sayavedra was getting ready for the voyage, a tender came into port on the coast of Tehuantepec which was one of those which had sailed from Castile with the fleet of this same Comendador whom I have mentioned; and one Ortuño de Lango, a native of Portugelate, came as Captain of this same tender. From this Captain and the pilots who came in the tender Álvaro de Sayavedra Zeron learned all that he wished to know, and he even carried off in his company a pilot and two sailors and paid them very well so that they might return again with him, and he took notes of the whole voyage they had made and of the courses which must be followed.

After he had issued the instructions and notices, which Captains and Pilots going on voyages of discovery are accustomed to give to their fleets, and had heard Mass and commended himself to God, they set sail from the port of Çiguatanejo, which is in the province of Colima or Zacatula—I do not clearly know which—and it was in

the month of December in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-seven or twenty-eight,[1] and it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to guide them so that they went to the Moluccas and other Islands. The hardships and dangers they passed through, and even the many of them who died on that voyage, I know nothing about, but I saw in Mexico, three years later, one of the sailors who had gone with Sayavedra, and he related things about those Islands and Cities where they went that astonished me. These were the Islands whither they now go from Mexico with a fleet to make discoveries and to trade. I have even heard it said that the Portuguese reside as Captains in them [the Islands] and arrested Sayavedra or his people and took them to Castile, or that His Majesty heard news of it; but it is many years ago, and I was not concerned in it beyond, as I have said, having seen the letter which His Majesty wrote to Cortés, so I will say no more about it.

I must now relate that in the month of May in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-two, after Cortés came from Castile, he despatched from the port of Acapulco another Armada of two ships, well found with all sorts of provisions, and with a full complement of sailors and artillery and goods for barter, and with eighty soldiers both musketeers and crossbowmen, and he sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendosa in command. These two ships he sent to explore the South coast and search for Islands and new lands, and the reason of it was that, as I have already said in the Chapter which treats of it, he had made a contract [to that effect] with the Royal Council of the Indies when His Majesty went to Flanders.

To return to the account of the voyage of the two ships,

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "I do not remember clearly which year it was."

it turned out that Captain Hurtado intended neither to search for Islands nor to go far out to sea, nor to do anything worth telling. More than half the soldiers he took with him mutinied, and went off with one ship, and it is even said that an arrangement was come to between the Captain and the mutineers to give them the ship, in which they could return to New Spain. This however can never be believed, that the Captain would give them permission, but [it is more likely] that they took it.

When they turned back they met with foul weather which drove them ashore, and they sprang a leak and with much difficulty got to Jalisco; they spread the news of it in Jalisco and thence the news flew to Mexico at which Cortés was much grieved.

Diego Hurtado always hugged the coast and nothing more was heard of him or his ship and he never appeared again. I must stop speaking about this Armada, for it was lost, and I will relate how Cortés promptly despatched two other ships which were already built in the port of Tehuantepec, provisioning them very fully both with bread and meat and all the necessaries which at this time could be obtained, and with much artillery and good sailors and seventy soldiers and certain things for barter; and [he appointed] as commander of them a gentleman of birth named Diego Beserra de Mendoza of the Beserras of Badajoz or Merida, and in the other ship one Hernando de Grijalva went as Captain, and this Grijalva was under the orders of Beserra. As chief pilot there went a Biscayan named Ortuño Ximénez, a great cosmographer.

Cortés ordered Beserra to go to sea in search of Diego Hurtado, and, if he could not find him, to go out as far as he could on the high seas and look for islands and new countries, for there was a report of rich islands and pearls, and the Pilot Ortuño Ximénez, when he was talking

to other pilots about things of the sea before they started on that voyage, said and promised to lead them to lands favoured by fortune with riches—[the Fortunate Islands], for so they called them—and said so much about how they would all become rich, that some persons believed it.

On the first night after they sailed from the port of Tehuantepec, a head wind arose which drove the two ships apart, and they never saw one another again. They could easily have come together again, for good weather at once set in, but that Hernando de Grijalva, so as not to be under the orders of Beserra, went at once out to sea and departed with his ship, for Beserra was very haughty and illconditioned, and that was the end of it, as I shall relate further on. Hernando de Grijalva also withdrew because he wished to gain honour for himself if he should discover some fine Island, and he went out to sea more than two hundred leagues and discovered an Island which he named San Tome, but it was uninhabited.

Let us leave Grijalva and his course, and I will relate what happened to Diego Beserra with the Pilot Ortuño Ximénez, which is that they quarrelled on the voyage, and, as Beserra was disliked by most of the soldiers who went in the ship, Ortuño conspired with other Biscayan sailors, and with the soldiers with whom Beserra had had words, to fall on him in the night and kill him ; this they did when he was asleep, and they despatched Beserra and some other soldiers, and had it not been for two Franciscan Friars, who went with that Armada, who separated them, worse evils would have happened. The Pilot Ximénez and his companions rose in rebellion with the ship and at the prayers of the Friars they were put ashore at Jalisco—both the Friars as well as some others who were wounded—and Ortuño Ximénez set sail and went to an Island which he named Santa Cruz,

where it was said that there were pearls, and it was inhabited by Indians who were like savages. When he went ashore the natives of that bay or Island were hostile and killed them, so that none escaped except the sailors who remained on the ship. When they saw that all had been killed, they returned to the port of Jalisco with the ship and told the news of what had happened, and certified that the land was good and well peopled and rich in pearls.[1]

This news soon reached Mexico, and when Cortés knew about it he was much grieved at what had happened,[2] and as he was a courageous man, and did not sit still under such results, he determined not to send more Captains but to go himself, and at that time he had already launched from the dockyard and into the harbour of Tehuantepec three ships of a good size. As they had brought the news to him that there were pearls where Ortuño Ximénez was killed, and because he always had it in his mind to discover great townships by the south sea, he wished to go and form a settlement, for so he had contracted with the most Serene Empress Doña Ysabel of glorious memory, as I have already related, and with the Royal Council of the Indies, when His Majesty went to Flanders.

When it was known in New Spain that the Marquis was

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "at which Nuño de Guzman was envious, and to find out if it were true that there were pearls, he thoroughly equipped this same ship that had brought the news, both with soldiers and Captain and supplies, and sent it to the same land to find out what it was like, and the Captain and soldiers whom he sent [soon] wished to return, for they found no pearls and nothing which the sailors had described, and they got back to Jalisco to stay in pueblos of his Encomienda and brought no news to Nuño de Guzman, and because at that time good gold mines were found in that land, for one reason and another they did nothing which was profitable."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "How that Nuño de Guzman should take the ship."

going in person, they thought that it was an affair of certainty and riches, and so many soldiers came to serve him, both horsemen, musketeers, and crossbowmen (and among them thirty or forty married men), that there joined him in all over three hundred and twenty persons including the married women. After thoroughly supplying the three ships with much biscuit, meat, and oil and even wine, and vinegar and other things necessary for food, he took a quantity of goods for barter, and three blacksmiths with their forges and two ships' carpenters with their tools, and many other things which I will not enumerate here so as to avoid delay, and engaged good and expert pilots and sailors. He ordered those who wished to go and embark at the port of Tehuantepec, where the three ships were lying, to start, and this [he did] so as not to carry so many impedimenta by land. He himself went from Mexico with Captain Andrés de Tápia and other Captains and soldiers, and took with him priests and monks who said Mass, and he took doctors and surgeons and pharmacy stores. When he reached the port whence they were to sail, the three ships which had come from Tehuantepec were already there, and, as soon as all the soldiers were united with their officers and ready to start, Cortés embarked with those who, it seemed to him, should go in the first passage to the Island or Bay which they had named Santa Cruz, where they said the pearls were, and after a prosperous voyage Cortés arrived at the Island; this was in the month of May in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-six or thirty-seven. He promptly sent off the ships so that they should return with the other soldiers and married women and horses which were left waiting with Captain Andrés de Tápia. These were at once embarked and sail set, and as they were going on their course a storm struck them, which drove them near to a great river which they named San Pedro and San Pablo. Then as the

weather moderated they continued their voyage, when another Tempest struck them and separated all three of the vessels. One of them reached the port of Santa Cruz where Cortés was stationed ; another ran aground and was wrecked on the coast of Jalisco, and of the soldiers on board, who were very discontented with the voyage and the many hardships, some returned to New Spain and others stayed in Jalisco.

The other ship made port in the bay which they called Guayabal, and they gave it this name because there was much fruit there called Guayava, and, as she had grounded beam on, they were so long delayed that they could not get to where Cortés was stationed, and they were hourly expected, for they [the first arrivals] had run out of provisions, and the meat and biscuit and nearly all the food was in the ship which went ashore on the coast of Jalisco, and on this account Cortés as well as all the soldiers was very greatly distressed, for they had nothing to eat and the natives of that country do not grow maize, but are wild savages and uncivilised, and all they eat are fruits which grow there and fish and shell fish. Twenty-three of the soldiers who were with Cortés died of hunger and disease, and many more of them were ill, and they cursed Cortés and his Island, his Bay, and his discovery. When he saw this he decided to proceed in person with the ship which was there in harbour, with fifty soldiers and two blacksmiths and carpenters and three calkers, in search of the other two ships ; for, from the [state of the] weather and the winds that had blown, he inferred that they must have been driven ashore, and in the course of his search of them he found one stranded, as I have stated, on the coast of Jalisco with no soldiers in her, and the other was near some reefs, and with great labour in repairing and calking them he returned to the Island of Santa Cruz with his three ships and the supplies.

The soldiers who were awaiting him, already weakened from not having eaten anything sustaining for many days past, ate so much meat that it gave them diarrhœa and so much sickness that the half of those who had remained behind died.

So as not to keep such horrors before his eyes Cortés went on to explore other lands and then came upon California, which is a bay. As Cortés was so weary he was wishing to get back to New Spain, however through obstinacy, so that they should not charge him with having expended great numbers of pesos de oro without finding any new lands of value, and having no luck in matters to which he put his hand, and on account of the soldiers,[1] he did not go.

At that very same time, as the Marquesa Doña Juana de Zuñiga, his wife, had received no news of him, and more than that one ship had gone ashore on the coast of Jalisco, she felt very anxious, thinking that he might be dead or lost, and she promptly sent two ships in search of him; one of these was the ship in which Grijalva, who had sailed with Beserra, had returned to New Spain, the other a new ship which they had just finished building in Tehuantepec, and these ships were laden with all the provisions which could be obtained at that time.

She sent as Captain of one of them a certain Fulano [Francisco] De Ulloa, and wrote most affectionately to the Marquis, her husband, praying him to return at once to Mexico to his estate and Marquisate, and to remember the sons and daughters he possessed, and cease to contend any more with fortune, but be content with the heroic deeds and the fame of his person which had spread everywhere. Thus too the most illustrious Viceroy Don

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and Conquistadores of New Spain."

Antonio Mendoza wrote to him most charmingly and affectionately, begging him to return to New Spain.

After a favourable passage these two ships arrived where Cortés was stationed, and, as soon as he saw the letters of the Viceroy and the entreaties of his wife the Marchioness and his children, he left Francisco de Ulloa as Captain with the people he had there, and all the provisions they had brought for him, and at once embarked and came to the port of Acapulco, and going ashore after a favourable journey he reached Cuernavaca where the Marchioness was living, which caused great rejoicing.

All the settlers in Mexico and the Conquistadores were delighted at his arrival, and even the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia, for there was report of a rumour current in Mexico that all the Caciques of New Spain, knowing that Cortés was not in the country, intended to revolt. Furthermore, all the soldiers came back whom he had left in those Islands or Bay called California, and I do not know how this return was effected or in fact why they returned, or whether the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia gave them permission to do so.

Within a few months, when Cortés was already somewhat rested, he despatched two other ships well supplied both with bread and meat, as well as other sailors and sixty soldiers and good pilots; and Francisco de Ulloa, mentioned by me before, went with them as Captain.

The reason why he sent these ships was because the Royal Audiencia expressly ordered him to send them in fulfilment of the contract with Her Majesty, as I have mentioned in former Chapters which treat of it.

To return to my story, which is, that they sailed from the Port of Natividad in the month of June in the year fifteen hundred and thirty odd, (this matter of the years I do not remember), and Cortés ordered the Captain to follow along the coast and finish the

circumnavigation of California, and endeavour to search for Captain Diego Hurtado, who never appeared again.

Ulloa occupied seven months on the voyage in going and coming, and I know he did nothing worth recording. He then returned to the port of Jalisco and, within a few days of his coming on shore to rest himself, one of the soldiers whom he had taken in his company lay in wait for him and dealt him sword thrusts and killed him.

The voyages and explorations made by the Marquis came to an end with what I have now related, and I have heard him say, even many times, that he had expended over three hundred thousand pesos de oro on fleets. In order that His Majesty should repay him something on account of it, and of the enumeration of his vassals, he decided to go to Castile, also to demand from Nuño de Guzman a certain sum of pesos de oro which the Royal Audiencia had decreed that he should pay[1] because he had ordered his [Cortés's] effects to be sold, for by this time Nuño de Guzman had gone to Castile as a prisoner.

If we think of it, in nothing at all did he [Cortés] have any luck after we had conquered New Spain.

CHAPTER CCI.

How great festivities and banquets were celebrated in Mexico and what rejoicing [took place] at the peace [made] between the Most Christian Emperor our Lord of Glorious Memory, and Don Francisco the King of France, when they met at Aguas Muertas.

In the year thirty-eight [1538] news reached Mexico that the most Christian Emperor, our Lord of Glorious Memory,

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "To Cortés."

went to France, and Don Francisco, the King of France, gave him a great reception at a port called Aguas Muertas, where peace was made, and the Kings embraced one another with great affection in the presence of Madam Leonor, the Queen of France, wife of this same king Don Francisco and sister of the Emperor, our Lord of Glorious Memory, and great solemnization and festivals took place on account of that peace.

In its honour, and by way of rejoicing over it, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the Marques del Valle and the Royal Audiencia and certain gentlemen of the Conquistadores held great festivals, and at that time the Marques del Valle and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had become friends, for they had been somewhat embittered over the counting of the vassals of the Marquisate, and because the Viceroy greatly favoured Nuño de Guzman in his refusal to pay the number of pesos de oro which he owed to Cortés from the time when Nuño de Guzman was President in Mexico. They decided to hold great festivals and rejoicings, and they were such that it seems to me I have not seen others of the same quality [even] in Castile, both as regards jousts and reed games, and bull fights, and the encounters of one party of horsemen with others, and other great representations which were [provided]. All this that I have mentioned is as nothing compared to the many other devices of other displays which were customary in Rome when the Consuls and Captains who had won battles entered in triumph, and the competitions and challenges connected with every event. The inventor who prepared these things was a Roman gentleman named Luis de Leon, a man said to be of the lineage of the Patricians who were natives of Rome. To return to our festival, it began with a wood made in the great Plaza of Mexico with a great variety of trees as natural as though they had grown there, and in

the middle some trees as though they had fallen down from old age and decay, and others covered with mould and little plants which seemed to grow out of them while from others hung a sort of down[1], again others in various ways so perfectly arranged that they were worth observing. Inside the wood were many deer, rabbits and hares, foxes and jackals, and many sorts of small animals native to the country, and two young lions and four small tigers, and they were confined within fences made within the wood itself, so that they could not escape until it was time to drive them out for the chase, for the native Mexican Indians are so ingenious in arranging these things that in the whole universe, according to what many say who have travelled all over the world, there have not been seen their like. On the trees there was a great diversity of small birds of all sorts, native to New Spain, which are so numerous and of so many breeds that it would make a long story had I to count them. There were other very dense groves somewhat apart from the wood, and in each of them a party of savages with their knotted and twisted cudgels, and other savages with bows and arrows, and they set off for the chase, for at that moment [the animals] were let out of the enclosures, and they ran after them through the wood and came out on to the great Plaza, and the killing of them led to a violent row between one lot of savages and the other, and it was worth seeing how they fought on foot with one another, and after they had fought for a short time they returned to their grove. Let us leave this, which was as nothing in comparison with the display made by cavaliers and negroes and negresses with their king and queen all on horseback, more than fifty[2] in number, and with the great riches which they carried on their persons

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[1] Either Barbas di Viejo = a lichen, or a Bromelia.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "one hundred and fifty."

of gold and precious stones, small pearls and silverwork, and they promptly attacked the savages and there was another dispute about the hunting.

It was wonderful to see the diversity of faces in the masks which they wore, and how the negresses suckled their negro children, and how they paid court to the queen.

After this, on the following morning, half this same Plaza had been turned into the City of Rhodes with its towers and battlements, loopholes and turrets, all fenced round, as natural as Rhodes itself, and one hundred knights commanders with their rich embroidered insignia of gold and pearls, many of them on horseback with short stirrups and lances and shields, and others with long stirrups, in order to break lances and pierce shields, and others on foot with their arquebuses, and the Marquis Cortés was their commander and the Grand Master of Rhodes. They brought in four ships with their main and foremasts and mizzens and sails so natural that many persons were astonished at seeing them go under sail across the Plaza and make three circuits of it, and let off so many cannon which they fired from the ships; and there were some Indians on board dressed to look like Dominican Friars when they came from Castile, some engaged in plucking chickens and others fishing.

Let us leave the Friars with their guns and trumpets, and I will go on to relate how two companies of Turks were placed in an ambuscade, most Turklike with rich silk robes all purple and scarlet and gold, and splendid hoods such as they wear in their country. All of them were on horseback, and they were in ambush ready to make a dash and carry off some shepherds and their flocks which were grazing near a fountain, and one of the shepherds who were guarding them took to flight and warned the Grand Master of Rhodes that the Turks

were carrying off the flocks and their shepherds. Then the Knights sallied forth and a battle was fought between them and the Turks, and they recaptured the flocks.

Then other squadrons of Turks came in from other directions and fell upon the Rhodians and fought other battles with the Knights, and many of the Turks were taken prisoners, and then a lot of fierce bulls were let loose so as to separate them.

Now I wish to tell about the many ladies, wives of the Conquistadores and other settlers in Mexico, who were at the windows of the Great Plaza, and the riches they wore of crimson and silk and damask and gold and silver and jewels, which was a splendid sight, and in other corridors were more ladies very richly adorned, whom gentlemen served with a splendid repast, which was provided for all those ladies both those at the windows and those in the corridors; and they served them marzipan, sweetmeats of citron, almonds and comfits, and others of marzipan with the arms of the Marquis, and others with the arms of the Viceroy, all gilded and silvered, and among them some containing a lot of gold without any other kind of sweets were distributed. About the fruits of the country I will not write here, for it is too lengthy a matter to relate. Besides all this there were the best wines obtainable, aloza,[1] chuca,[2] and cacao all frothed up, and suplicaciones,[3] all served on a rich table service of gold and silver. This repast commenced an hour after vespers and continued for two hours, when everyone went home.

Let us stop telling these stories about entertainments and past festivals, and I will tell about the other banquets

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[1] Aloja, a beverage made of water, honey and spice (mead).
[2] Chuca = Chicha, a beverage made from fermented fruits.
[3] Suplicaciones, a kind of thin light pastry.

which were given. One was arranged by the Marquis in his palace, and the other by the Viceroy in his palace and royal house, and these were suppers. The first was given by the Marquis, and the Viceroy and all the gentlemen and Conquistadores who could be counted upon supplied him with all the ladies, who were the wives of the gentlemen and Conquistadores, and other ladies, and it was a most ceremonious affair, and I will not try to remember all the courses for it would be a long story, sufficient to say that they were very abundant. The other supper was given by the Viceroy,[1] and this feast took place in the corridors of the Royal Palace, which were transformed into bowers and gardens, interwoven overhead with many trees with their fruits which appeared to grow on them, and above the trees as many [kinds of] birds as can be found in the country; and they had copied the spring at Chapultepec, just like the original, with some tiny springs of water which burst forth from some parts of this same fountain, and there close to it was a great tiger tied with chains, and on the other side of the fountain was the figure of a man of great bulk dressed like a muleteer, with two skins of wine on his back, who had gone to sleep through weariness; and there were figures of four Indians who had untied one of the skins and had got drunk, and it appeared as though they were drinking and were making grimaces, and it was all done so true to life that many persons of all classes with their wives came to see it.

When the tables were set they were very long and each one had its seat of honour, in one was the Marquis and in the other the Viceroy, and for each seat of honour there were stewards and pages and a full and well arranged service.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "the entertainment was greatly varied."

I should like to recite what was served, although it is not all written down here. I will state what I remember, for I was one of those who supped at these great feasts:—

To begin with there were salads made in two or three ways, and then kids and cured hog hams dressed à la ginovisca, after this pies of quails and pigeons, and then turkeys and stuffed fowls, then manjar blanco,[1] after this a fricassée, then torta-real, then chickens, partridges of the country and pickled quails, and then after this they took off the table cloths twice and there were clean ones beneath with napkins. Then pasties of every sort of birds and wild fowl, these were not eaten and many things of the earlier courses were not eaten.

Then they served other pasties of fish, none of this too was eaten, then they brought baked mutton and beef and pork, turnips, cabbage and garbanzos,[2] but none of these were eaten, and in between these courses they placed on the table various fruits to incite the appetite, and then they brought the fowls of the country baked whole with their beaks and feet silvered, and after that mallards and geese whole, with gilded beaks, and then heads of pigs, deer and calves whole, by way of pretentiousness. Together with this much music of singers at each seat of honour, and trumpetry and all sorts of instruments, harps, guitars, violas, flutes, dulcimers and oboes, especially when the stewards served the cups which they brought to the ladies who were supping there, who were more numerous than they were at the supper of the Marquis, and many gilt goblets, some with aloja,[3] others with wine, others with water, others with cacao, others with

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[1] Manjar blanco = a dish made of the breast of fowl mixed with sugar, milk and rice flour.
[2] Garbanzos = chick peas.
[3] A beverage made with honey and spice.

mulled wine. After this they served, to the ladies of greater distinction, some very large pasties, and in some of them were two live rabbits and in others small live rabbits, and others were full of quails and doves and other small birds all alive, and when they placed them on the tables it was at one and the same time, and as soon as they took off the top crusts the rabbits went fleeing over the tables and the quails and birds flew off.

I have not yet told about the service of olives and radishes and cheese and artichokes,[1] and fruits of the country—no more can be said than that all the tables were full of such courses.

Among other things were jesters and versifiers who in praise of Cortés and the Viceroy recited things that were very laughable.[2] I have not yet spoken of the fountains of white wine, Indian sherry and red wine,[3] and other store of bottles, or of another service there was in the courtyards, for the people and equerries and servants of all the gentlemen who were supping above at that banquet, more than three hundred of them with over two hundred ladies. I have forgotten the young oxen roasted whole, stuffed with chickens and fowls, quails and pigeons and bacon, these were in the courtyards below among the equerries and mulattos and Indians. I must state that this banquet lasted from nightfall until two hours after midnight, when the ladies cried out that they could stay no longer at table, and others were indisposed, and the tablecloths were changed by

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and then marzipan and almonds and comfits and citron and other sorts of sugar plums."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "and some of them were drunk and spoke on their own account and indecently, until they were taken by force and carried out, so as to silence them."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "and there were many drunkards."

force because other things had [still] to be served, and everything was served on gold and silver and great and rich table service.

One thing I saw was that each room was full of Spaniards who were not invited guests, who came to see the supper and banquet, and they were so numerous that the corridors would not hold them. Not a single piece of plate belonging to the Viceroy was missing throughout the supper, but at that of the Marquis more than one hundred marks of silver were missing; the reason why nothing was missing belonging to the Viceroy was because the chief Mayordomo, who was named Augustin Guerrero, ordered the Mexican Caciques to place an Indian on guard over each piece, and although many plates and porringers with manjar blanco and pastry and pasties and other things of the sort were sent to every house in Mexico, an Indian went with each piece of plate and brought it back; what was missing was some silver salt cellars, [a good] many tablecloths and napkins and knives, and this was told me by Augustin Guerrero himself the next day. The Marques took it [as a sign of] grandeur that he lost over a hundred marks of silver plate.

Let us leave the suppers and banquets and I will relate how the next day there were bull [fights] and reed games, and the Marquis received a blow from a reed on the instep from which he suffered and went lame. The next day there were horse races from the plaza called Tlatelolco to the great Plaza, and certain yards of velvet and satin were given [as prizes] for the horse which galloped best and arrived first at the plaza. Then too some women raced from under the colonnade of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada to the royal palace, and some golden jewels were given to her who arrived first at the post.

Then many farces were acted, and they were so many

that I cannot now call them to mind, and by night they had masks and ballads and jokes. There were two chroniclers of these great festivals, who recorded them just as they happened, and [noted] who were the Captains and the Grand Master of Rhodes, and they [the descriptions] were even sent to Castile that they might be seen by the Royal Council of the Indies (for His Majesty was then in Flanders).

I want to add an amusing story concerning a settler in Mexico called the Master of Rhodes, already an old man, who had a great wen on his neck. He had the name of Master of Rhodes because they called him purposely Master of Rhodes, and it was he for whom the Marquis had sent to Castile to heal his right arm, which he had broken in a fall from a horse after his return from Honduras, and he paid him very well for coming to cure his arm and gave him some pueblos of Indians.

When the Festivals, which I have mentioned, were over, as this Master of Rhodes was one of those chroniclers and was a good talker, he went to Castile at that time and became so well acquainted with the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, the wife of the Comendador Mayor, one Don Francisco de los Cobos, that he bewitched her and promised to give her drugs so that she should bear a child, and he said this in such a way that she believed him, and the Señora Doña Maria promised him that if she bore a child she would give him two thousand ducats, and would support him before the royal Council of the Indies in obtaining further pueblos of Indians. This same Master of Rhodes also promised Cardinal de Ciguenza, who was President of the [Council of the] Indies, that he would cure him of the gout, and the President believed him and they allotted him, on the order of the Cardinal and through the support of the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, very good Indians,

better than those he owned. What he did in the matter of cures was to heal neither the Marquis' arm, (if anything he left him more crippled, although he paid him very well and gave him the Indians I have mentioned), nor did the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza ever bear a child, for all the hot sweetmeats of sarsaparilla which he ordered her to take, nor did he cure the Cardinal of the gout, but he kept the bars of gold which Cortés gave him and the Indians which the Royal Council of the Indies bestowed upon him in New Spain. He left behind him in Castile among the traders who had gone to law[1] a joke [to the effect] that a little sarsaparilla which the Master of Rhodes had brought with him was worth more than all the services the true Conquistadores had rendered His Majesty, for owing to this name which had been given him of Master of Rhodes, and through being a good talker, he had deceived both the President and the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, while other Conquistadores, however much they had served His Majesty, got no benefit at all.

Let us stop relating the lives of strangers, for I know well there will be reason to say why do I meddle with these matters, and interrupt my narrative in order to tell an old yarn that happens to come to mind. Let us get back to it, and it is that, after the festivals were over, the Marquis ordered ships and stores to be prepared to go to Castile, in order to petition His Majesty to cause him to be repaid some of the many pesos de oro which had been expended on the fleets which he had despatched on voyages of discovery, and because he had lawsuits with Nuño de Guzman ; for at that time the Royal Audiencia had sent Nuño de Guzman as a prisoner to Castile. Cortés also had lawsuits about the counting of the vassals. Then

[1] Blotted out in the original : "about Indians."

Cortés begged me to go with him, as I could urge my claim to my pueblos better at court before the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies than before the Royal Audiencia in Mexico. So I promptly embarked and went to Castile, but the Marquis did not start until two months later, for he said that he had not collected as much gold as he wished to take with him, also because he was ill from the blow from the reed which he had received on his instep. This was in the year five hundred and forty [1540], for in the previous year five hundred and thirty nine Her Most Serene Empress our Lady Doña Ysabel of Glorious memory had died, who departed this life in Toledo on the first day of May, and her body was carried for burial to the City of Granada. Her death caused great grief in New Spain, and nearly all the Conquistadores put on full mourning, and I, as the Regidor of the town of Coatzacoalcos and the oldest Conquistador, went into deep mourning, and in it went to Castile, and when I arrived at the Court I put it on again as I was obliged to do on account of the death of our Queen and Lady.

At that time there also arrived at Court Hernando Pizarro, who came from Peru, and was bowed down with mourning, with his more than forty men whom he brought with him in his Company. Cortés also arrived at this time at Court in mourning, he and his servants. As soon as the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies knew that Cortés was approaching Madrid, they gave orders to go out and receive him, and assigned him as quarters the houses of the Commendador Don Juan de Castilla, and, on the occasion of his going to the Royal Council of the Indies, an Oidor came to the door where the meeting of the Royal Council was held and led him to the dais where sat the President Don Fray Garcia de Loyasa, Cardinal of Ciguenza, who was afterwards Archbishop of Seville, with the Oidores the Licentiate Gutiere Velásquez and the

Bishop of Lugo and Doctor Juan Bernal Díaz de Lugo and Doctor Beltran; and close to the seats of those gentlemen they placed another seat for Cortés and listened to him. From that time onwards he never returned again to New Spain, for then they took his Residencia, and His Majesty would not give him leave to return to New Spain, although he had for advocates the Admiral of Castile and the Duque de Bejar and the Commendador Mayor de Leon, and also had as a mediatrix the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, but His Majesty would never give him leave. On the contrary he ordered him to be detained until his Residencia was concluded, but they never intended to finish it, and the answer they gave him in the Royal Council of the Indies was that until [His Majesty] returned from Flanders, after chastising Ghent, they could not give him permission.

At this same time they also ordered Nuño de Guzman to be banished from his country and always to remain at Court, and they sentenced him [to pay] a certain number of pesos de oro, but they did not take from him the Indians of his Encomienda in Jalisco, and he and his servants also went about in deepest mourning. When they saw us at Court, both the Marquis Cortés as well as Pizarro and Nuño de Guzman and most of us who had come from New Spain on business, and the other persons from Peru, they considered it a joke to call us 'the mourning Indians and Peruvians.'[1]

To go back to my story, at that time they also ordered Hernando Pizarro to be made prisoner in the Mota de Medina.

Then I came back to New Spain, and learned that a few months earlier [the inhabitants of] some rocky hills, called Nochistlan, in the province of Jalisco, had risen in

[1] Los Indianos Peruleros enlutados.

revolt, and that the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had sent some Captains and a certain Onate to pacify them, and the insurgent Indians made fierce attacks on the Spaniards and soldiers sent from Mexico, who seeing themselves surrounded by Indians began to beg assistance from the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, who at that time was on board a ship of a great fleet, then in the port of La Purificacion, which he had prepared to go to China. He went to assist the Spaniards who were on the rocky hills I have mentioned, and took with him a great company of soldiers, and within a few days he died from a horse falling on him and crushing his body, as I shall relate further on. I want to leave this story and call to mind the two fleets which set out from New Spain, one fitted out by the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the other prepared by Don Pedro de Alvarado, as I have already stated.

CHAPTER CCII.

How the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza sent three ships to explore the South Coast in search of Francisco Vásquez Coronado and sent him provisions and soldiers, supposing that he was engaged in the conquest of Cibola.

I HAVE already stated in a former Chapter which treats of it that the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent [an expedition] to discover the seven cities otherwise called Cibola, and that a nobleman named Francisco Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, went as Captain General, who at that time had married a lady, who in addition to being very virtuous was the beautiful daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada.

Francisco Vásquez was then Governor of Jalisco, for Nuño de Guzman who used to be Governor had already been removed. He set out over land with many horse soldiers and musketeers and crossbowmen, and left as his Lieutenant in Jalisco a nobleman named Fulano de Onate, and when after some months he arrived at the seven cities he found that a certain friar named Fray Marcos de Niza had gone previously to explore these lands, or went on the expedition with Francisco Vásquez Coronado himself (this I am not sure about), and when they reached the country of Cibola they beheld the fields quite level and full of cows and bulls unlike ours in Castile, and the pueblos and houses with granaries, and they ascended to them by ladders. The Friar thought that it would be as well to return to New Spain, and, as soon as he arrived, to make a report to the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza [to induce him] to send ships along the south coast with iron tools, cannon and powder, and crossbows and arms of all kinds, and wine, oil, and biscuit; for he reported that the lands of Cibola were in the district of the South Coast and that the provisions and tools would be a help to Francisco Vásquez and his companions who were already settling in that Country. This was the reason why he [the Viceroy] sent the three ships I have mentioned, and one Hernando de Alarcon, who was head Steward of the said Viceroy, went as Captain General, and there went as Captain of the other ship a gentleman named[1] Marcos Ruiz de Rojas, a native of Madrid; other people say that one Fulano Maldonado sailed as Captain of the other ship, but because I did not go with that fleet, I state it in this way from hearsay. After all the instructions had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "Alonzo Gasca de Herrera who is now a settler in Guatemala."

been given to the pilots and Captains about what they had to do and how they were to manage and navigate, they set sail on their voyage.[1]

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[1] The original here leaves a large blank space and then comes this note: "this which is blotted out is not to be read, nor this other part up to the Chapter two hundred and fifty three" [sic]. What is blotted out in one and the other part is as follows and is short of one page, which was perhaps destroyed by the author himself.—E.G.

CHAPTER CCLII. [CCIII.] About a great fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out in the year five hundred and thirty-seven.

It is right to call to mind, so that it should not be forgotten, a fine fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven in the province of Guatemala, where he was governor, at a port named Acajutla on the south coast, and it was to fulfil a certain contract that he made before His Majesty the second time that he returned to Castile and came back married to a lady named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva. The contract made with His Majesty was that the Adelantado should find certain ships, pilots, sailors and soldiers, provisions and all that was necessary at his own expense, to be sent to explore the western route to China or the Moluccas, or any other of the spice islands, and on account of what he should discover His Majesty promised to grant him certain concessions in these same lands and would give him revenue from them; and because I have not seen the contract I leave it there, and for this reason do not put it in this narrative. To return to our subject, the Adelantado, who was always a faithful servant of His Majesty as he showed himself to be in the conquest of New . . . . . .

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very noble and loyal city of Guatemala [prepared] two tombs near the altar of the principal church, in order to bring the bones of the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, which were buried in the pueblo Chiribitio, and inter them in one of the tombs; and the other tomb, in order to inter in it, when Our Lord God is pleased to remove them from this present life, Don Francisco de la Cueva and Doña Leonor de Alvarado, his wife, and daughter of the said Adelantado; for at her own expense she brought the bones of her father and ordered the tomb to be made in the holy church as I have stated.

Let us leave this subject and say what happened to the fleet of the Adelantado, which is that (after he died as I have related) within a year, a little more or less, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza ordered certain ships to be selected, the best and newest of the thirteen which the Adelantado had despatched from the West Coast to discover China, and he sent as Captain of these ships a relation of his own, named Fulano de Villalobos, and ordered him to proceed by the same course which it had been agreed upon to follow and explore.

What this voyage ended in I do not well know, and for this reason

CHAPTER CCIII.

About a fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out from a port called Acajutla in the province of Guatemala.

It is right to call to mind, so that it should not be forgotten, another fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven in the province of Guatemala, where he was Governor, at a port called Acajutla on the South Coast, and it was done to fulfil certain contracts made with His Majesty during the second time that he returned to Castile and returned married to the lady named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva, the sister of a certain Doña Francisca de la Cueva, who was extremely beautiful (and had been the first wife of Don Pedro de Alvarado), who died at Vera Cruz in New Spain. The contract arranged with His Majesty was that Don Pedro de Alvarado should provide certain ships, pilots, sailors and soldiers, provisions and all that was needed for that fleet at his own cost, and it was proposed that he was to send and explore the western route to China and the Moluccas, or any other of the Spice Islands, and according to what he should discover His Majesty promised to grant him certain favours in these same lands. However, as I have not seen the contract I omit it, and for that reason I do not include it in this narrative. To go back to my story he cleared for sea twelve ships of considerable size, well provisioned with bread and meat, barrels of water, and everything that could be provided at that time, well armed with cannon and with good pilots and sailors.

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say no more about it, however I have heard it said that the heirs of the Adelantado never recovered anything either on account of the ships or of the provisions, but lost it all.

Let us leave this subject—I was not engaged in it and do not know much about it ; other gentlemen will report it more fully.

It was indeed a powerful fleet, although the port of Vera Cruz was so far off, a matter of one hundred and fifty leagues from where the ships were built, for at that time the iron for the nails, and anchors and casks and other things necessary for the fleet, were brought from Vera Cruz; for as yet there was no question of Puerto de Caballos.

He expended on them [the ships] many thousands of pesos de oro, with which in Seville they would have been able to build more than eighty ships; yet all the riches he brought from Peru, and the gold which they extracted from the mines in the province of Guatemala, and the tributes from his pueblos, and what he borrowed from friends and relations, and what he got on credit from merchants, did not suffice him [to cover expenses]. What he spent on horses and Captains, soldiers, arquebuses, crossbows, and all kinds of arms, was a great sum in pesos de oro. When his ships were ready to sail, each one with its royal standard [hoisted] and pilots and Captains appointed, and instructions given about what they had to do both by night and day, and the courses they were to follow, and the signals of the lamps if a storm should rise during night time; after hearing Mass of the Holy Spirit, and after their banners had been blessed by the Bishop of that Province, with the Adelantado himself as Captain General of the fleet, they set sail in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven or thirty-eight (I do not clearly remember [which year]) and went sailing on their course to the port called la Purificacion, which is in the province of Jalisco. At that port they had to take in water and provisions and more soldiers, although they already carried over five hundred and fifty soldiers in the ships. When the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza heard about this powerful fleet, for in these parts it might be called a very great one,

and about the great number of soldiers and horses and cannon that it carried, he regarded it as a matter of great importance—and he had reason so to consider the collection and arming of thirteen ships on the south coast, and that so great a number of soldiers should have joined him so far from the port of Vera Cruz and from Mexico; for, as I have already noted, ships with merchandise from Castile did not come to the Puerto de Caballos as they do now, and it is a matter for reflection for persons who have a knowledge of these countries and know about the expenses that are incurred.

When the Viceroy Don Antonio was informed that it [the expedition] was for the discovery of China, and understood from pilots and cosmographers that it [China] might certainly be discovered towards the west, and one of his relations named Villalobos, who knew much about latitudes and the art of navigation, assured him of it; and moreover he learned that the valorous Hernando Cortés, before he went to Castile and became a Marquis, had sent three ships to discover these same Islands; he determined to write from Mexico to Don Pedro de Alvarado with offers and favourable promises to induce him to give orders that he should become a partner with him in the fleet. So as to bring this about, Don Luis de Castilla and a Mayordomo of the Viceroy named Augustin Guerrero went to settle the bargain.

As soon as the Adelantado beheld the messages they were bringing on this account, and had fully discussed the business, it was agreed that the Viceroy and the Adelantado should have an interview at a pueblo named Chiribitio, which is in the province of Mechuacan and was in the Encomienda of one Juan de Alvarado, a relation of Don Pedro de Alvarado himself; and in this pueblo it was settled that both together should go and inspect the fleet.

After they had inspected it, differences arose as to who should go as Captain General, for Don Pedro wished it to be a nephew of his named Juan de Alvarado (I do not speak of him of Chiribitio but another who bore the same name), and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza wished his nephew who was a great cosmographer named Villalobos to go. Finally it was arranged that Alvarado and Villalobos should go as Captains.

Then Don Pedro de Alvarado went to the port of Natividad, for so it was called, where at that time all his ships and soldiers were then assembled, so that he himself should despatch them. When they were already prepared to set sail, a letter reached him sent by one Cristóbal de Onate, who was Captain of the soldiers on some rocky hills called Nochistlan, and what he sent to say was that, being a matter of His Majesty's service, he [Pedro Alvarado] must come and help them in person and bring soldiers, for they were surrounded in a place where if help did not reach them they could not defend themselves from the many squadrons of excessively valiant Indian warriors who were posted in strong fortified positions and rocky hills, and had killed many of the Spaniards who were in his company, and he feared greatly that they would finally defeat him. He made known in the letter many other misfortunes and [said] that should the Indians emerge victorious from those rocky hills New Spain would be in great danger. When Don Pedro de Alvarado saw the letter and the words recorded by me, and other Spaniards told him of the danger they were in, promptly without any delay he ordered some soldiers whom he had brought in [his company] to get ready, horsemen as well as musketeers and crossbowmen, and he went post haste to render that assistance.

When he reached the camp, those hedged in were so

exhausted that had it not been for his coming they would have been much more so; however, on his arrival, the Indian warriors slackened somewhat in their attack—not that they ceased to wage fierce war as they did before. While a company of soldiers were posted on some rocky hills to prevent the warriors entering that way, and were defending that pass, it seems that a horse of one of the soldiers came rolling down the hill with great impetus, and by bounds, to where Don Pedro de Alvarado was standing, and he was not able nor did he have time to move away at all, and the horse struck against him in such a way that it injured him and crushed his body, for it fell upon him. He at once felt very sick, and, so as to aid and cure him, thinking that his injury was not so serious, they carried him on a litter to be treated at the town nearest to the camp, called la Purificacion; but on the road he fainted, and when he reached the town he was at once confessed and received the Holy Sacraments, but he made no will, and he died and was buried there with as great pomp as was possible. Let us cease speaking of his death, may God pardon him, Amen.

I will go back to say that Cristóbal de Onate found himself in the greatest exigency on those rocky hills and was on the point of being defeated, had not the Viceroy sent in all haste the Licentiate Maldonado, the Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, with many soldiers [to his assistance].

Let us leave this subject and relate what was done and in what the fleet ended, and it is this, that when they of the fleet saw that their Captain was dead, each one went off on his own account. A year later the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza ordered three of the best ships to be taken (the newest of the thirteen which the Adelantado sent on the voyage of discovery), and appointed his relation, already mentioned by me, named Fulano de

Villalobos, in command of them, to follow the same course by which they had [before] agreed to send and explore; what happened on that voyage I do not well know, except that I have heard rumours, and it is believed to be true, that he went to some Islands where there were Captains of the King of Portugal who traded there, and they took him prisoner and he went to Castile. The same thing happened when the valiant Don Hernando Cortés sent a Captain named Alvaro de Sayavedra Ceron in command of three other ships; thus all that the Adelantado spent was lost and his heirs never recovered anything at all.

CHAPTER CCIV.

What the Marquis did when he was in Castile.

WHEN His Majesty returned to Castile after punishing Ghent, he prepared a great fleet to go against Algiers, and the Marquis del Valle went to serve in it and took with him his firstborn son, who was heir to his estate; and he also took Don Martin Cortés, his son by Doña Marina, and many esquires and servants, and horses and a great company and attendance, and embarked in a fine galley in company with Don Enrique Enríquez. It pleased God to cause such a fierce storm to arise that a great part of the Royal fleet was lost and the galley in which Cortés and his sons sailed was wrecked, and they and most of the other gentlemen who were in her escaped with great risk of their lives. At the same time, when there was not such [calm] reflection as there ought to have been, especially when death stares one in the face, the servants of Cortés alleged that they saw him tie in a handkerchief twisted round his arm certain jewels of

very precious stones which he carried[1] as a great Lord, and in the confusion of escaping in safety from the galley, among the great crowd of persons who were present, all the jewels and precious stones which he carried, and which were reported to be worth many[2] pesos de oro, were lost.

I will go on to tell about the great storm and loss of knights and soldiers who perished. The quarter-masters and Captains who belonged to the Royal Council of war advised His Majesty at once and without delay to remove the head quarters [of the expedition] against Álgiers, and to go by land along the coast, for they saw it was God's will to send them that foul tempest and nothing could be done more than had been done. To that meeting and council Cortés was not summoned to give his opinion, and, when he knew about it, he said that if it pleased His Majesty he would undertake by the help of God and the luck of our Cæsar, with the soldiers then in camp, to take Algiers. Immediately after saying these words he also expressed much praise of his Captains and comrades who were present with him in the capture and conquest of Mexico, saying that they went there to suffer hunger and hardships and wherever he should call them he could perform heroic deeds with them, and that when wounded and enveloped in rags they never ceased fighting and capturing every city or fortress, although they might chance to lose their lives in the act. As many gentlemen overheard those arrogant words, they said to His Majesty that it would have been well to call him to the Council of War, and it was looked upon as a great discourtesy that he had not been summoned. Other gentlemen said that his not being summoned was because they felt sure that the Marquis would be of

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "so to say from no necessity."

[2] Blotted out in the original; "thousands of."

House at Castilleja de la Cuesta, where Cortés died.

Photo by A. P. M.

contrary opinion; that during such tempestuous weather there was no need for many councillors, but that His Majesty and the rest of the Royal fleet had to be placed in safety, for they were in great danger, and that at some future time with God's help they would return to besiege Algiers, and so they went along the coast.

Let me leave this subject and I will relate how they returned to Castile from that arduous journey, and how the Marquis was already tired of being in Castile at court, on account of having returned coastwise, weary and worn out from the journey already described by me, and desired greatly to return to New Spain, if they would give him leave. As he had sent to Mexico for his eldest daughter, named Doña Maria Cortés, whom he had arranged to marry to Don Álvaro Pérez Osorio, son of the Marquis de Astorga and heir to the Marquisate, and had promised over a hundred thousand ducats of gold as a marriage portion, and many other matters of clothes and jewels, he went to meet her at Seville. This marriage was broken off, many gentlemen say through the fault of Don Álvaro Pérez Osorio, at which the Marquis was so angry that with fever and dysentery he was very . . . . . at the end, and, his illness continuing and always getting worse, he decided to leave Seville so as to be free of the many persons who came to visit him and bother him with business, and he went to Castilleja de la Cuesta, there to attend to his soul and arrange his will. After he had settled it as was fitting and had received the Holy Sacraments, Our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to take him from this toilsome life, and he died on the second day of December in the year fifteen hundred and forty-seven. They carried his body to bury it with great pomp and concourse of clergy, with the great grief of many gentlemen of Seville and he was interred in the chapel of the Dukes of Medina

Sidonia; and later on his bones were carried to New Spain and placed in a tomb at Coyoacan or in Texcoco (I am not sure about this) for so he ordered by his will.[1]

I wish to speak of his age, from what I remember, and I will state on this point that in the year when we went with Cortés from Cuba to New Spain—which was in fifteen hundred and nineteen—he then used to say, when he stood talking to all of us comrades who went with him, that he was thirty-four [years old]; and, with the twenty-eight [years] that passed before he died, this would make sixty-two. The legitimate sons and daughters he left were Don Martin Cortés who is now the Marquis, and Doña Maria Cortés (she who I have stated was engaged to be married to Don Álvaro Pérez Osorio, heir to the Marquisate of Astorga: this Doña Maria afterwards married the Conde de Luna de Leon), and Doña Juana who married Don Hernando Enríquez, who was to inherit the Marquisate of Tarifa, and Doña Catalina de Arellano who died in Seville while a girl. I know that the Marchioness Doña Juana de Zuñiga took them with her to Castile when a Friar[2] named Fray Antonio de Zuñiga came to fetch them, and this Friar was a brother of the Marchioness herself. Another daughter, a spinster named Doña Leonor Cortés, who was in Mexico, married one Juanes de Toloza, a Basque and a very rich man, who possessed over one hundred thousand pesos and some mines;[3] at which marriage the Marquis was very angry when he came to New Spain. He left two sons who were bastards named Don Martin Cortés, Comendador of Santiago (this gentleman was born of Doña Marina the Interpreter), and Don Luis Cortés, also a Comendador of Santiago, who was born of another

[1] See Appendix B.
[2] Blotted out in the original: "of Santo Domingo."
[3] Blotted out in the original: "of silver."

lady named Doña Fulano de Hermosilla, and he had three other daughters, one by an Indian woman of Cuba named Doña Fulana Pizarro, and another by another Indian woman, a Mexican, and another, who was born deformed, by another Mexican woman. I know that these young ladies were well dowered, for from childhood he had given them good Indians in some pueblos named Chinantla. What he provided in his will and instructions I am not sure about, but I feel that as a wise man and having plenty of time for it, and because he was old, that he would do it with much deliberation. So as to ease his conscience, he ordered a Hospital and a College to be built in Mexico, and he also provided that in his town, named Coyoacan, which is a matter of two leagues from Mexico, a convent for Nuns should be built; also that his bones should be brought to New Spain. He assigned good revenues to carry out his will and legacies, and they were many and good and [the deeds] of a good Christian. To avoid prolixity I will not state them, and as I do not remember them all I will not quote them.

The motto and blazon which he bore on his coat of arms and banners was that of a very valiant man and appropriate to his heroic deeds, and it [the motto] was in Latin, and as I do not know Latin I do not record it. He had on it seven heads of Kings, who were captives on a chain, and it seems to me, as far as I can see and understand it, these were the Kings whom I now name: Montezuma Great Lord of Mexico, Cacamatzin the nephew of Montezuma who was also Great Lord of Texcoco, and Coadlabaca Lord of Iztapalapa and another pueblo, the Lord of Tacuba, the Lord of Coyoacan, and another great Cacique Lord of two provinces named Tulapa near to Matalzingo; this one as I have stated was said to be the son of a sister of Montezuma, and the nearest heir to Mexico after Montezuma. The last King was

Guatemoc, he who fought us and defended the City when we captured the Great City of Mexico and its provinces.

These seven great Caciques are those whom the Marquis bore on his banners and coat of arms as emblems, for I remember no other Kings who could have been captives and [also] Kings, as I have stated in the chapter that treats of it.

I will go on and speak of the appearance and disposition of Cortés. He was of good stature and figure well proportioned and robust, the colour of his face inclined to be greyish and not very bright, and if his face had been longer he would have been better looking; in his eyes and expression there was something kindly, [but] on the other hand grave. His beard was rather dark, scant and thin, and the hair which at that time he possessed was of the same sort as the beard. He had a deep chest and well shaped shoulders, and was lean and with little belly, and slightly bow-legged, with the legs and thighs well set on. He was a good horseman and skilful with all arms both on foot and on horseback, and knew well how to manage them. Above all [he possessed] courage and spirit which is what matters most of all.

I have heard it said that when he was a youth in the Island of Hispañola he was somewhat dissolute about women, and that he fought with knives several times with strong and dexterous men, and always came off victorious. He had a scar from a knife wound near his under-lip, and if one looked hard at it, he was inclined to cover it up more with his beard. This scar was given him when he indulged in those quarrels. In all of which he showed both by his appearance and in his speech and conversation, and in eating and in his dress, signs of being a great Lord.

The clothes he wore were in accordance with the time and fashion, and he thought nothing about wearing many

silks and damasks or satins, but [dressed] simply and very neatly, nor did he wear grand gold chains, except a small chain of gold of finest workmanship and a small pendant with the image of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria with her precious son in her arms, and with a motto in Latin on one side with Our Lady, and on the other side of the jewel St. John the Baptist with another motto. He wore besides on his finger a very rich ring with a diamond, and on the cap, which then was [usually] made of velvet, he wore a medal. I do not remember what design was on it, but on the medal were written his initials. Later on in the course of time he always wore a cloth cap without a medal. He was luxuriously attended as a great Lord by two stewards and mayordomos and many pages, and all the service of his house was very complete, with great table services of silver and gold. He dined well and drank a good cup of wine and water which held a pint, and he also took supper, but was not dainty, nor did he care to eat of delicate or costly dishes except when he saw that expenditure was necessary or he was obliged to give them[1].

He was very affably disposed to all his Captains and comrades, especially with those of us who went [with him] from the Island of Cuba on the first occasion. He was a Latin scholar, and I have heard it said that he was a bachelor of laws, and when he spoke with educated men or Latin scholars he replied to what they said in Latin. He was something of a poet and composed couplets both in rhyme and prose, and in what he talked about he spoke with moderation and with very good expression. He recited prayers every morning out of a Book of Hours, and heard Mass with devoutness. He took as his especial patron saint Our Lady the Virgin Mary, whom

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "to visitors or invited guests!"

all we faithful Christians should take as our intercessor and advocate, and he also held by Señor San Pedro, and Santiago, and Señor Saint John the Baptist. He was charitable with alms, and when he used an oath he said "on my conscience," and when he was angered with one of us soldiers who were his friends he would say "Oh evil take you;" and when he was very angry a vein on his throat swelled up and another on his forehead, and sometimes when very angry he raised a cry to heaven, but he never said a foul or injurious word to any Captain or soldier.

He was very long-suffering, for there were very inconsiderate soldiers who said insolent things to him, and he did not answer them with anything haughty or unpleasant, although there may have been reason to do so; the most that he said to them was "Be quiet!" or "God go with you and for the future be more careful what you say or it will cost you dear." He was very obstinate, especially about warlike matters, however much advice and persuasion we might offer to him about imprudent attacks and expeditions which he ordered us to undertake—[such as] when we marched round the great pueblos of the Lakes, or on the rocky hills which they now call the "Peñoles del Marques," when we told him that we could not climb up to the fortifications and rocky heights, but that we would keep them beleagured, because of the many boulders which came bounding down hurled at us from the top of the fortress, for it was impossible to protect ourselves from the shock and impetus with which they came, and it was risking all our lives, for valour and counsel and prudence were of no avail; yet still he contended against all of us, and we had to begin to ascend again and we were in extreme danger, and eight soldiers were killed, and all the rest of us injured in the head and wounded, without accomplishing anything worth mentioning until

we changed to other plans. Furthermore when we went on our march to the Hibueras on the affair of Cristóbal de Olid, when he revolted with the fleet, I told him many times that we ought to go by the Sierras, but he contended that it was better along the coast and he was wrong again, for if we went the way I said it led all through a populous country, and, so that it may be well understood [by persons] who have never marched across it, [I state] that from Coatzacoalcos to Chiapa is a straight road, and from Chiapa to Guatemala, and from Guatemala to Naco, where at that time Cristóbal de Olid was stationed.

Let us leave this talk and I will say that when we came with the fleet to Villa Rica and presently began to build a fort, the first to do his share and dig out earth for the foundations was Cortés. In battles, I always saw him enter them in close company with us, and I will begin with the battles of Tabasco where he was in command of the horsemen, and he fought very well. Let us go on to Villa Rica: I have already spoken about the fortress, [then he did well] in scuttling as we did eleven ships on the advice of our valiant Captains and brave soldiers (and not as Gomara represents it). Then in the wars in Tlaxcala in three battles he proved himself very valiant, and in the entry into Mexico with four hundred soldiers, which is a thing to wonder at, and moreover in having the daring to seize Montezuma within his own palace—[Montezuma] who possessed such a vast number of warriors (and I also state that we seized him on the advice of the Captains and nearly all the soldiers); and another thing which must not be forgotten, the burning in front of his palace Montezuma's Captains who were concerned in the death of our Captain named Juan de Escalante and of seven other soldiers; these Indian Captains were called Quetzalpopoca (I do not remember the name of the other, but it does not matter,

as it is not to the point). Then, too, what daring and boldness it showed to attack with gifts of gold and strategems of war Panfilo de Narvaez the Captain of Diego Velásquez, who brought over thirteen hundred soldiers and ninety horsemen and as many more crossbowmen and eighty espingarderos [Gunners], for so we called them, and we with two hundred and sixty-five comrades, without horses or muskets or crossbows, with only pikes and swords, daggers and shields, defeated them and captured Narvaez and other Captains. Let us go on ahead, for I want to state how when we entered Mexico a second time in aid of Pedro de Alvarado and before we left it fleeing, when we ascended the great Cue of Huichilobos I saw that he showed himself to be very brave, although his valour and ours availed us nothing. Then in the rout and very celebrated battle of Otumba, when we were expecting all the flower of the valiant Mexican warriors and all their subjects to kill us, there too he proved himself very courageous when he attacked the Captain and standard-bearer of Guatemoc, and made him lower his standard and loose the great vigour of the intrepid attack of all his squadrons which fought against us so bravely. After God our valiant captains who helped him were Gonzalo de Sandoval, Cristóbal de Olid, Diego de Ordás, Gonzalo Domínguez, and one Lares, and other brave soldiers whom I do not name here, who had no horses, and of the followers of Narvaez there were gallant men who helped very much. He who killed the Captain of the standard was one Juan de Salamanca, a native of Ontiveras, and he took from him a rich plume and gave it to Cortés. Let us go on and I will state that Cortés found himself engaged in a very dangerous battle during the affair of Iztapalapa, and bore himself as a good Captain; and in the affair of Xochimilco, when the Mexican squadrons dragged him

off the flat-nosed horse, and some of our friends the Tlaxcalans came to his assistance, and above all our brave soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, a native of Old Castile. (It should be noted that I say one was Cristóbal de Olid who was quartermaster, and the other Cristóbal de Olea of Old Castile, and this I state here so that it should not be questioned, and they cannot say that I am making a mistake).

Our Cortés also proved himself very valiant while we were in Mexico, and the Mexicans defeated him on a small causeway and carried off for sacrifice sixty two soldiers, and they had seized Cortés himself and were grappling with him to carry him off for sacrifice, and they had wounded him in the leg. It pleased God that through his own valour, and because there came to his aid the same most gallant soldier Cristóbal de Olea (he who on the other occasion in Xochimilco freed him from the Mexicans), who helped him to mount his horse, that the life of Cortés was saved, and the gallant Olea was left there dead with the others, as I have already stated. As I am writing now I have before my mind the manner and resolution of the personality of Cristóbal de Olea and his very great valour, and it still makes me sad, for he came from my house, and was the relation of my kindred.

I do not wish to speak of many other deeds of prowess and valour which I saw done by our Marquis Don Hernando Cortés, for they are so numerous and of such a nature that I could not relate them quickly enough.

I will still say of his disposition that he was very fond of games of cards and dice, and when he played he was very sociable in playing, and would use certain witty expressions which those who play at dice are wont to repeat; and he was addicted to women in excess, and

jealous in guarding his own[1]. He was most careful during all the conquests that we made, even by night, and on many nights he went the rounds and challenged the sentinels and entered into the Ranchos and shelters of our soldiers, and, if he found one without his arms and with his shoes off, he admonished him and said to him that "to a worthless sheep the wool seems heavy," and upraided him with bitter words.

When we went to the Hibueras I noticed that he took liquor before breakfast, a thing he was not used to do in the earlier wars, and when he had dined if he did not take a nap his stomach was upset and it made him feel ill, and in order to avoid this indisposition when we were on the march they placed a rug or a cloak, which was carried handy for that purpose, under a tree or other shade, and however powerful the sun might be he did not fail to sleep a little and then at once to go on marching. I also noticed that during the wars of New Spain he was lean and with little belly, but after our return from the Hibueras he was much more corpulent with a great belly, and I also noticed that the beard which was black before had become whitened. I also wish to say that he used to be very open-handed when he was in New Spain, and the first time he went to Castile ; but when he returned the second time in the year fifteen hundred and forty they thought him niggardly, and one of his servants named Ulloa, brother of the other Ulloa whom they killed, brought a law-suit against him for not paying him his wages ; and, if one considers and looks into it well, after we had conquered New Spain he was always in difficulties and spent many pesos de oro on the fleets which he sent to California, nor in the journey to the Hibueras did he have any luck. (No more has apparently his son

[1] Blotted out in the original : "his Indian women."

Don Martin Cortés either, who, being the Lord of such a great revenue, has met with such a great disaster as they relate of him and his brothers.) May our Lord Jesus Christ remedy it and may He pardon the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés his sins.

I well believe that I may have forgotten to write down other things about the habits of his valiant person; what I remember and saw, that I have written down.

Concerning the other young lady, his daughter, I do not know whether they made her a nun or married her off. I have heard it said that she went to Valladolid and a gentleman married her, but I am not sure. His other daughter, who was deformed on one side, I have been told became a nun in Seville, or in San Lucar. I do not know their names, and so do not give them, nor can I say what was done with so many thousand pesos de oro which they had for their dowries[1].

[1] Blotted out in the original: "there was much talk and suspicion about her marriage. I don't know about it nor do I touch more on this point, so help me God, and pardon me my sins, Amen. I knew that the friar the brother of the Marchioness was very avaricious and had an evil face and worse squinting eyes."

BOOK XVII.

THE

RECORD OF THE CONQUISTADORES.

CHAPTER CCV.

A record of the gallant Captains and stout and valiant soldiers who left the Island of Cuba with the daring and courageous Captain Don Hernando Cortés, who after conquering Mexico became Marquis del Valle and had other titles.

IRST of all the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés, who died near Seville in a town or place called Castilleja de la Cuesta.

Then Don Pedro de Alvarado, who, after the conquest of Mexico was Comendador de Santiago and Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala;[1] he died in the affair of Jalisco, when he was on his way to relieve an army which was camped on the rocky hills of Nochistlan.

Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was a prominent Captain and chief Alguazil during the affair at Mexico, and for some time was Governor in New Spain in association with the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada. His Majesty received the highest reports of him, and he died in Castile

[1] Blotted out in the original: "and Honduras and Chiapa."

in the town of Palos when he went with Don Hernando Cortés to kiss the feet of His Majesty.

Cristóbal de Olid, who was a valiant Captain and quarter-master in the wars in Mexico, and who came to his end in the affair at Naco, beheaded as a punishment because he rose in revolt with the fleet which Cortés had given him.

These three Captains I have mentioned were highly praised before His Majesty when Cortés went to Court, and remarked to His Majesty, our Lord, that he had in his army when he conquered Mexico three Captains who might be counted among the most famous in the world. The first was Don Pedro Alvarado, who, besides being very valiant, was elegant both in person and appearance, and [distinguished] for his capacity in training soldiers[1]. He said of Cristóbal de Olid that he was a Hector in valour in single combat, and had he been as judicious as he was brave he would have been much more highly esteemed, but he needed to be under orders. Of Gonzalo de Sandoval he stated that he was of such value, as much on account of his bravery as for his counsels, that he was fit to command armies and was competent in all that he dared to say or do.

Cortés also gave praise to the very good and daring soldiers whom he had commanded; and as to this Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the author of this narrative, remarks, that it would have been as well if Cortés had written thus on the first occasion that he told the story of the events in New Spain, but what he wrote at that time gave all the honour and glory of our conquests to himself alone, and made no mention of us.

To return to my story: Another good and valiant

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and for inciting them to go anywhere however dangerous it might be."

Captain named Juan Velásquez de Leon died at the bridges.[1]

Francisco de Montejo, who after Mexico was captured became Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan, and held other titles, died in Castile.

Luis Marin, who was a Captain in the affairs of Mexico, a distinguished person and very valiant, died a natural death.

A certain Pedro de Ircio, who died, was cunning in disposition, of middle height, and talked much of what he would accomplish and what would happen through his doing, but he was no good at all, and we called him another Agrages [sour grapes] without works, on account of his loquacity; he was a Captain in the Camp of Sandoval.

Another good Captain was named Andrés de Tapia; he was very valiant, he died in Mexico.

One Juan de Escalante, who was Captain at Villa Rica while we went to Mexico, died in the hands of the Indians in what we call the affair of Almeria, which is the name of some pueblos situated between Taxpan and Cempoala; there died in his company seven soldiers whose names I cannot now remember, and they killed his horse; this was the first disaster we suffered in New Spain.

One Alonzo de Ávila was a Captain, and the first accountant appointed in New Spain, a very brave man but somewhat given to turbulence, and Don Hernando Cortés knowing his disposition, in order to avoid discords, managed to send him as Proctor to Hispanola where the Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars resided, and when he despatched him he gave him good bars and jewels of gold so as to content him.[2]

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[1] During the "Noche triste."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "and the affairs he was charged with concerned the way in which we were to manage our conquests,

A certain Francisco de Lugo, who was in command of expeditions, a very valiant man died a natural death; he was the bastard son of a gentleman named Álvaro

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and the branding as slaves of the Indians, who, having first rendered obedience to His Majesty, after so doing should have again revolted, and in time of peace have treacherously killed Christians. After Alonzo de Ávila had returned from this mission in Hispañola, and it was seen that he had obtained favourable results, he [Cortés] then sent him to Castile, for we had meanwhile conquered Mexico. While we were subduing New Spain and capturing Mexico, Alonzo de Ávila took no part in any of the expeditions, except the expedition when we first went to Mexico and when afterwards we fled from it, for, as I have said, he was in Hispañola. Then, so as further to content him and to get him away from himself, [Cortés] gave him a good pueblo named Cuautitlan, and some bars of gold, so that he should conduct the negotiations satisfactorily and should report much that was good of the personality of Cortés to His Majesty. Then Don Hernando Cortés also sent, in company with Alonzo de Ávila, Fulano de Quiñones a native of Zamora, who was Captain of the Guard of Don Hernando Cortés, and he gave them power of attorney to advocate the affairs of New Spain. By them he despatched the great wealth of gold and silver jewels and many other things which we seized on the capture of Mexico, and the equipage of gold which Montezuma and Guatemoc, the great Caciques of Mexico, used to own.

As luck would have it they stabbed Quiñones in the Island of Terciera, over a love affair with a woman, and he died of those wounds. As Alonzo de Ávila continued his voyage, a French fleet met him near Castile, of which Juan Florin was the Captain, and robbed him of the gold and silver and the ship, and carried him off prisoner to France, and he was a prisoner for some time; but at the end of two years the Frenchman who held him let him go free and he came to Castile.

At that time Don Francisco de Montejo, Adelantado of Yucatan, was at Court, and he [Alonzo de Ávila] accompanied him on his being appointed Accountant of Yucatan. About the same time or a little earlier one Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, a brother of Alonzo de Ávila, who used to reside in the Island of Cuba, came to Mexico, and as Alonzo de Ávila was in Yucatan and Gil Gonzáles in Mexico, he [Alonzo] sent authority to his brother Gil Gonzáles de Benavides to hold the pueblo of Cuautitlan for himself and to make use of it. Gil Gonzáles went with us at that time to the Hibueras (for he was never a conquistador of New Spain), and years went by during which he utilized that pueblo and collected the tributes from it, apparently without any title to it beyond the authority which his brother sent him. When Alonzo de Ávila died, it seems that the Attorney General of His Majesty entered a claim for the pueblo to be restored to his Majesty, as Alonzo de Avila was dead. Over this lawsuit arose the riots and rebellions and deaths which took place in Mexico, and the exiles which resulted and the evil reputations of others. If all this is thoroughly taken into account the

de Lugo the elder, the lord of some towns situated near Medina del Campo which are called Fuenencastin.

Andrés de Monjaraz, who was a Captain in the affair of Mexico, died; he was a great sufferer from boils and his ailment did not aid him much in warfare.

Diego de Ordas was a Captain during the first time we attacked Mexico, and after Mexico was captured was created a Comendador de Santiago; he died in the Marañon.

The four brothers of Don Pedro de Alvarado were named:—

Jorge de Alvarado, who was a Captain in the affair of Mexico and in that of Guatemala, who died in Madrid in the year fifteen hundred and forty.

Another brother named Gonzalo de Alvarado who died a natural death in Oaxaca.

Gómez de Alvarado, who died in Peru.

Juan de Alvarado, who was a bastard, died at sea on his way to the Island of Cuba.

Juan Jaramillo, who was Captain of a launch when we were attacking Mexico, and was a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Cristóbal Flores, who was a worthy man, died in the Affair of Jalisco, when he accompanied Nuño de Guzman.

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end was a bad one—Quiñones, who went to Castile, ended worse, and died stabbed at Terciera, the gold and silver was robbed by the fleet of the Frenchman Juan Florin, Alonzo de Ávila was a prisoner in France, and Juan Florin himself, who committed the robbery, was taken prisoner at sea by Basques and hanged at the port of Pico.

The pueblo of Cuautitlan was taken from the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, and over this they were beheaded, for it was found out they did not show the loyalty that they should to the service of His Majesty; other persons were condemned and banished, and others were left with damaged reputations.

I wish to include this in my narrative so that it may be seen what caused the restlessness in Mexico, although I believe there was no necessity for it, for they [the readers] will be tired of hearing these matters. Let us go on and speak of my [proper] subject."

Cristóbal Martin de Gamboa, who was Master of the Horse to Cortés, died a natural death.

A certain Çayzedo, who was a rich man, died a natural death.

Francisco de Sauzedo was a native of Medina de Rio Seco, and because he was very neat we called him "el galan," and they say that he was chief steward to the Admiral of Castile; he met his death at the bridges by the hands of the Indians.

Gonzalo Domínguez, a very valiant man and a fine horseman, died in the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Moron, a very brave man and a good horseman, a native of Gínes, died in the hands of the Indians.

Francisco de Morla, a very valiant soldier and good horseman, a native of Jerez, perished at the bridges.

Another good soldier named Morla, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, died on the rocky hills in the province of Guatemala.

Francisco Corral, a man of great merit, died in Vera Cruz.

Fulano de Lares, a very brave man and a good horseman, was killed by the Indians.

Another Lares, a crossbowman, died in the hands of the Indians.

Simon de Cuenca, who was Mayordomo to Cortés, died in the affair of Xicalango in the hands of the Indians, and there also died in company with him ten other soldiers whose names I do not remember.

So also Francisco de Medina, a native of Aracena and a Captain on one expedition, fell in the affair of Xicalango and with him other soldiers.

Maldonado "the broad," a native of Salamanca, and a distinguished person who had been in command of expeditions, died a natural death.

Two brothers called Francisco Álvarez Chico and Juan

Alvarez Chico, natives of Fregenal; the former, a business man, was ailing and died in the Island of Santo Domingo, Juan Álvarez fell in the affair of Colima by the hands of the Indians.

Francisco de Terrazas, a man of distinction who had been mayordomo to Cortés, died a natural death.

Cristóbal del Corral, the first standard bearer we had in the battle of Mexico and a very valiant man, returned to Castile and there died.

A certain Antonio de Villareal, the husband of Ysabel de Ojeda, who afterwards changed his name and said he was called Antonio Serrano de Cardona, died a natural death.

Francisco Rodríguez Margariño, a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Francisco Flores of Oaxaca, a nobleman, died a natural death.

Alonzo de Grado, who married a daughter of Montezuma named Doña Ysabel, died a natural death.

Four soldiers whose surname was Solis. One, who was an old man, died in the hands of the Indians; another, called Solis Casquete, because he had rather a passion for asking questions, died a natural death in Guatemala. Another, called Pedro de Solis, "behind the door," because he was always in his house behind the door watching those who passed in the street while he could not be seen, was son-in-law to one Orduña the elder of Puebla, and died a natural death. The other Solis, who was called "he of the orchard," because he had a very good orchard and got a good income from it—and they also called him "silk jacket" because he boasted of the silk he brought—died a natural death.

A brave soldier named Benítez died in the hands of the Indians.

Another brave soldier named Juan Ruano died at the bridges at the hands of the Indians.

One Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia, a very distinguished and rich man, died a natural death.

A very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea was a native of the land of Medina del Campo, and one can well say that, after God, it was Cristóbal de Olea who saved the life of Don Hernando Cortés the first time in the affair of Xochimilco, when Cortés was seen to be in great danger, for the Mexican squadrons of war had pulled him down from his horse called "el Romo" and this Olea arrived among the first to rescue him, and personally accomplished so much that Don Hernando Cortés had a chance to mount his horse again; and some of us gentlemen and other soldiers who came up at that time promptly assisted him, but Olea was very badly wounded.

The last time this same Cristóbal de Olea rescued him was when the Mexicans defeated Cortés himself on the little causeway in Mexico, and killed sixty-two soldiers; and a squadron of Mexicans already had Don Fernando himself seized and grappled, ready to carry him off for sacrifice, and they had given him a cut on the leg, and that brave Olea with his valiant spirit fought so courageously that he freed Cortés from their hands, and there this gallant man lost his life; and now while I am writing about it my heart is moved to pity, for it seems as though I could see it now and his person and gallant spirit are present with me.

Cortés wrote about that defeat[1] to His Majesty, that not more than twenty-eight died, but as I state they were sixty-two.

There also came with us a brave soldier who had lost one hand which had been cut off in Castile as a punishment; he died in the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Tobilla, who had been

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "bloody."

severely injured in one leg, which he said had happened in the affair of Garellano with the Great Captain, died in the hands of the Indians.

Two brothers named Gonzalo López de Gimena and Juan López de Gimena. Gonzalo López died in the hands of the Indians, and Juan López became chief Alcalde of Vera Cruz and died a natural death.

One Juan de Cuellar, a good horseman, first married a daughter of the lord of Texcoco, and his wife was called Doña Ana and was the sister of that Suchel the lord of this same Texcoco; he died a natural death.

One Fulano de Cuellar, said to be a relation of Francisco Verdugo a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Santos Hernández, an old man, a native of Sória, (for nickname we called him "the good old Trooper") died a natural death.

One Pedro Moreno Medrano, who was a settler in Vera Cruz and was repeatedly [chosen as] Alcalde Ordinario of that place, was upright in doing justice; later on he went to live in Puebla; he was a faithful servant of His Majesty both as a soldier and as a judge, and died a natural death.

One Juan de Limpias Caravajal, a good soldier who was Captain of a launch, and grew deaf during the war, died a natural death.

One Melchior de Alavez, a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

A certain Roman López, who after Mexico was captured lost an eye, and was a distinguished man, died in Oaxaca.

One Villandrano, who was said to be a relation of the Conde de Rivadéo, and was a distinguished man, died a natural death.

One Osorio, a native of Old Castile, a good soldier and a person of much importance, died in Vera Cruz.

Rodrigo de Castañeda, who was an interpreter and a good soldier, died in Castile.

One Fulano de Pilar, who was a good linguist, died in the affair of Coyoacan[1] when he went with Nuño de Guzman[2].

Another brave and good soldier named Fulano Granado, still lives in Mexico.

Martin López, a good soldier who was the shipwright who built the thirteen launches which were such a great help in capturing Mexico, and served His Majesty very well as a soldier, still lives in Mexico.

Juan de Najara, a good soldier and crossbowman, served well in the war.

One Ojeda was a settler among the Zapotecs; his eye was destroyed during the affair of Mexico.

One Fulano de la Serna, who owned some silver mines, had a sword cut on the face which was given him in the war. I do not remember what became of him.

Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Conde de Medellin, a distinguished gentleman, went to Castile the first time we sent gifts to His Majesty, and Don Francisco de Montejo went in his company, before he was appointed Adelantado. They took with them much gold in grains [as they were] taken from the mines, as well as jewels of different patterns, and the golden sun and the silver moon. It appeared the Bishop of Burgos, named Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, archbishop of Rosano, ordered Alonzo Hernández Puertocassero to be seized, because he told this same Bishop that he wished to go to Flanders with the gift for His Majesty, and because he advocated the affairs of Cortés,

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[1] Is this a mistake and should it be Colima?

[2] Scratched out in the original: "A good soldier named Francisco de Olmos is a rich man and lives in Mexico."

and the Bishop advanced as a pretext for seizing him that he was accused of having taken a married woman to the Island of Cuba; he died in Castile. Although he was one of the principal comrades who left Cuba with us I had forgotten to place him in this list[1] until fortunately I remembered him[2].

Another good soldier died, named Louis de Zaragosa.

Let us get on:—Fulano de Villalobos, a native of Sta. Eulalia, returned to Castile a rich man and died there.

Tirado de la Puebla, a man of business, died a natural death.

Juan del Rio, returned to Castile.

Juan Rico de Alanis, a good soldier, died in the hands of the Indians.

Gonzalo Hernández de Alanis, a very brave soldier, died a natural death.

Juan Ruiz de Alanis, died a natural death.

Fulano de Navarrete, who was a settler at Panuco, died a natural death.

As for Francisco Martin Vendabal, the Indians carried him off alive to be sacrificed, as well as a companion of his named Pedro Gallego, and we laid much blame for this on Cortés, because he intended to arrange an ambush for some Mexican squadrons, and the Mexicans deceived him and planned one against Cortés himself, seized from him the two soldiers mentioned by me, and carried them off to be sacrificed before his eyes, and they could not help themselves.

There were three soldiers surnamed Trujillo, one was a native of Trujillo and was very brave; he died at the hands of the Indians. Another was a native of Huelva or Moguer; he also was high spirited, and died at the

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "among the first."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "may he pardon me."

hands of the Indians, as did also the third who was a native of Leon.

A soldier named Juan Flamenco died a natural death.

Francisco del Barco, a native of Barco de Ávila, who was a Captain in the affair of Cholula, died a natural death.

Juan Pérez, who had killed his wife, and they called the woman "the daughter of the cowherd," died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Rodrigo de Jarra, the hunchback, a most sensitive man when his person was concerned, died in Colima or Zacatula, as did another hunchback, a good soldier named Madrid.

Another soldier, named Juan de Ynis, was a crossbowman; he died a natural death.

Fulano de Alamilla, who was a settler at Panuco, and a good crossbowman, died a natural death.

Fulano Moron, a great musician, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano de Varela, a good soldier, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano de Valladolid, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano de Villafuerte, a person of consequence who married a relation of the first wife of Don Hernando Cortés, and was a settler at Zacatula or Colima, died a natural death.

Juan Ruiz de la Parra, who was a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano Gutiérrez, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Valladolid, the stout, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Pacheco, who was a settler in Mexico, a man of distinction, died a natural death.

Hernando de Lerma or de Lema, an old man who was a Captain, died a natural death.

Fulano Juarez the elder, who killed his wife with a stone for grinding maize, died a natural death.

Fulano de Ángulo, and one Francisco Gutiérrez, and another youth named Santa Clara, who were settlers from Havana, all of them died at the hands of the Indians.

One Garci-Caro, a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A youth named Larios, who was a settler in Mexico, who had lawsuits about his Indians, died a natural death.

Juan Gómez, who was a settler in Guatemala, returned to Castile a rich man.

Two brothers named Jimenes, who were natives of Linguijuela in Estramadura; one died at the hands of the Indians, and the elder a natural death.

Two brothers called the Florianes, died at the hands of the Indians.

Francisco Gonzáles de Najera, and his son whose name was Pedro Gonzáles de Najera, and two nephews of Francisco Gonzáles, called Ramires; Francisco Gonzáles died in the rocky hills which are in the province of Guatemala, and the two nephews at the bridges of Mexico.

Another good soldier named Amaya, who was a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

Two brothers named Carmonas, natives of Jéres, died natural deaths.

Two other brothers named Bargas, natives of Seville; one died in the hands of the Indians, and the other a natural death.

A very good soldier named . . . . . de Polanco, a native of Ávila, who was a settler in Guatemala, died a natural death.

Herman López de Ávila, who was the custodian of the property of deceased persons, returned to Castile a rich man.

Juan de Aragon and Andrés de Rodas, settlers in Guatemala, died natural deaths.

A certain Fulano de Cieza, who hurled the bar very well, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Santistevan the elder, of Chiapa, died a natural death.

Bartolomé Pardo died at the hands of the Indians.

Bernaldino de Sória, who was a settler in Chiapa, the father of a man called Centeno, also died a natural death.

As for Pedro Escudero, and Juan Cermeño, and another the brother of this latter, also surnamed Cermeño, [both] good soldiers — Don Hernando Cortés ordered Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño to be hanged, because they mutinied in a ship, intending to go to the Island of Cuba and give information to Diego Velásquez, the governor of it, about when and how we were sending Proctors and gold and silver to His Majesty, so that they might sally forth and seize it at Havana. The man who betrayed it [the plot] was Bernaldino de Sória, who was a settler in Chiapa, and as I have stated they died hanged.[1]

Cortés also ordered the toes of Gonzala de Umbria, a very good soldier, to be cut off his feet because he had joined the others [mutineers], and he went to Castile to lay a complaint before His Majesty and was very inimical to Cortés; His Majesty ordered him to be given a royal decree that he should be awarded one thousand pesos of revenue in New Spain, but he never left Castile, and died there.

Rodrigo Rangel, who was a distinguished man, was

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[1] See note, vol. i, p. 207.

much crippled by bubos; he never took part in the wars in a way that is worth mentioning, and he died of his pains.

Francisco de Orozco, was likewise afflicted with bubos; he had been a soldier in Italy. For some days he was in command during the affair of Tepeaca, while we were warring against Mexico, I do not know what became of him or where he died.

A soldier named Mesa, who had been a gunner and soldier in Italy and was the same in New Spain, died drowned in a river after the conquest of Mexico.

Another very valiant soldier named Fulano Arbolanche, a native of Old Castile, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Luis Velásquez, a native of Arévalo, died in the affair of Higueras [Honduras] when we went with Cortés.

Martin García of Valencia, a good soldier, also died in the affair of Higueras.

Another good soldier, named Alonzo de Barrientos, went from Tuxtepec to take refuge among the people of Chinantla when Mexico rose in revolt, and in that affair of Tuxtepec seventy-six soldiers and five Castilian women belonging to the followers of Narvaez, as well as our own people, died, killed by the Mexicans who were in garrison in that province.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Luis, or Juan Luis, who was very tall of stature (and we gave him as a nickname "el nino") died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Hernando Burgueno, a native of Aranda de Duero, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Monroy, because of a rumour that he was the son of a Comendador of Santistevan, called himself "el manco" (the one handed), so as to avoid being recognised; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Concerning Almodóvar the elder, and a son of his called Álvaro de Almodóvar, and two nephews that bore the same surname of Almodóvar—one nephew died at the hands of the Indians, and the old man and Álvaro and the other nephew died natural deaths.

Two brothers called the Martines, natives of Fronegal, good looking men, died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Juan del Puerto died crippled by bubos.

Another good soldier named Lagos died at the hands of the Indians.

A Friar of Our Lady of Mercy, named Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who was a theologian and a great chanter, died a natural death.

A presbyter named Juan Díaz, a native of Seville, died a natural death.

Another soldier named[1] , a native of Garrovillas. This man, according to report, took five thousand pesos de oro to Castile from the Island of Santo Domingo; this he had extracted from some rich mines, and when he reached Castile he spent it and gambled it away, and he came with us, and the Indians killed him.

Alonzo Hernandez Paulo, already an old man, and two nephews; one was called Alonzo Hernández, a good musketeer, I do not remember the name of the other nephew. Alonzo Hernández died at the hands of the Indians, and the old man and the other nephew died natural deaths.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Almestra, a native of Seville or Alxarabe,[2] died at the hands of the Indians.

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[1] Here there is a blank space. Remon fills it in in his edition with the name "Sancho de Avila," Fol. 242 Vto.—G. G.

[2] Algarve?

Another good soldier named Rabanal Montañez died at the hands of the Indians.

A handsome man named Pedro de Guzman, who married a Valenciana named Doña Francisca de Valterra, went to Peru and gained reputation, and he and his wife were frozen to death.

A good crossbowman named Cristóbal Díaz, a native of Colmenar de Arenas, died a natural death.

Another soldier named Retamales died at the hands of the Indians in the affair of Tabasco.

Another valiant soldier who came was called Gínes Nórtes; he died in the affair at Yucatan, at the hands of the Indians.

A very skilful and valiant soldier named Luis Alonzo, who could cut very well with a sword, died at the hands of the Indians.

Alonzo Catalan, a good soldier, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Juan Ciciliano, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Fulano de Canillas, who was a drummer in Italy and was the same in New Spain, died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro Hernández, who was secretary to Cortés, was a native of Seville, and died at the hands of the Indians.

Juan Díaz, who had a great cloud in his eye, and was a native of Burgos, was in charge of the things for barter and the provisions which Cortés took with him; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Diego de Soria, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Another soldier, a youth named Juan Nuñez de Mercado, was reported to be a native of Cuellar, others said that he was a native of Madrigal; this soldier, who lost his eyesight, is now a settler at Puebla.

Another good soldier, and the richest of all those who came with Cortés, named Juan Sedeño, a native of Arevalo, brought his own ship and a mare and a negro, and bacon and much cassava bread; he was a distinguished man and died a natural death.

Fulano de Baena, who was a settler at Trinidad, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Zaragosa, already an old man, who was the father of Zaragosa the notary of Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Diego Martin de Ayomonte died a natural death.

Another soldier named Cárdenas (he himself said that he was grandson of the Comendador Mayor, Don Fulano Cárdenas) died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier also named Cárdenas was a seaman and pilot, a native of Triana. This was he who said that he never had seen a country where there were two kings as there were in New Spain, for Cortés took his fifth like a king after the royal fifth was taken out; reflecting on this caused him to fall ill, and he went to Castile and made a report of it to His Majesty, and of other injuries which they had done him; he was very hostile to the affairs of Cortés, and His Majesty ordered him to be given a royal decree that he should be given Indians and a revenue of one thousand pesos, but, as soon as he returned with it to Mexico, he died.

Another very good soldier named Arguello, a native of Leon, died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Diego Hernández, a native of Saelyzes de los Gallegos, who helped to saw the wood for the launches, went blind, and died a natural death.

A soldier of great strength and spirit named Fulano Vásquez, died in the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier, a crossbowman named Arroyuelo, reported to be a native of Olmedo, died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Pizarro went on expeditions as a Captain, Cortés said he was his relation; at that time the Pizarros were not known by name, nor was Peru discovered. He died at the hands of the Indians.

Alvar López, a settler in Puebla, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Yañes, a native of Cordova; this soldier went with us to the Hibueras, and, while he was away, his wife married another husband, and when we returned from that journey, he would not take back his wife. He died a natural death.

A good soldier and very active man, named Magallanes, a Portuguese, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another Portuguese, a silversmith, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another Portuguese, already an old man, named Alonzo Martin de Alpedrino, died a natural death.

Another Portuguese, named Juan Álvarez Rubaco, died a natural death.

Another very valiant Portuguese, named Gonzalo Sánchez, died a natural death.

Another Portuguese, who became a settler at Puebla, named Gregorio Rios, a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Two other Portuguese, tall men, named Villanueva, became settlers at Puebla. I do not know what became of them or where they died.

Of three soldiers, with the names of Fulano de Ávila, one who was called Gaspar de Ávila, son-in-law of Ortigosa the notary, died a natural death; the other Ávila joined the Captain Andrés de Tápia, he died at the hands of the Indians. I do not remember where the other Ávila settled.

Two brothers, already old men, named Bandadas, natives of the land of Ávila, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three soldiers, all three of them named Espinosa: one was a Basque, he died in the hands of the Indians; the other was called Espinosa of the Blessing, for he always brought it into his conversation, and his talk was very pleasant, thanks to the good blessing; he died a natural death. The third Espinosa was a native of Espinosa de los Menteros; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro Peron of Toledo, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Villa Sinda, a native of Portillo, died a natural death.

Two good soldiers who were nicknamed the "San Juanes:" one we called San Juan the haughty, because he was very pretentious, he died at the hands of the Indians; the other whom we called San Juan de Uchila, a Gallician, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Martin Ysquierdo, a native of Castromocho, was a settler in the town of San Miguel, subject to Guatemala, and died a natural death.

One Aparicio, who married a woman named La Medina, a native of Maria de Rio Seco, settled at San Miguel, and died a natural death.

A good soldier named Cáceres, a native of Trujillo, died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Alonzo de Herrera, a native of Jéres, who was a Captain against the Zapotecs, stabbed another Captain named Figueroa over certain disputes about the command, and from fear that the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, who at that time was Governor, should capture him, joined the expedition to Marañon, and there he died at the hands of the Indians. Figueroa was drowned in the sea on his way to Castile.

A youth named Maldonado, a native of Medellin, fell very ill with bubos, and I do not know if he died a natural death, nor can I assert it of the Maldonado

of Vera Cruz who was the husband of Doña Maria del Rincon.

Another soldier passed away named Morales, already an old man, who was lame of one leg, and was said to have been a soldier of the Comendador Solis; he was Alcalde in ordinary of Villa Rica and carried out true justice.

A soldier named Escalona the youth, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three other soldiers, settlers at Villa Rica, never went to the wars nor on any expedition in New Spain. One was named Arévalo, the other Juan Leon, and the third Madrigal; they died natural deaths.

Another soldier called by the nickname of "Lencero" [the linen draper], who owned the inn now called "de Lencero," which is between Vera Cruz and Puebla, was a good soldier and died a natural death.

Pedro Gallego, a pleasant man and a poet, who also owned an inn on the direct road from Vera Cruz to Mexico, died a natural death.

Alonzo Duran, who was somewhat cross-eyed and did not see well, and acted as Sacristan, died a natural death.

A soldier named Navarro, who was throughout attached to [the company of] Captain Sandoval, and afterwards married in Vera Cruz, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Talavera, who was attached to the household of the Captain Sandoval, died at the hands of the Indians.

Two soldiers, one of them named Juan de Manzanilla, and the other Pedro de Manzanilla; the latter died at the hands of the Indians, and Juan de Manzanilla, who was a settler in Puebla, died a natural death.

A soldier named Benito de Bejel, who was drummer and tambourine player to the armies in Italy, as he also was in New Spain, died a natural death.

Alonzo Romero, who was a settler at Vera Cruz, a rich and distinguished man, died a natural death.

Niño Pinto, brother-in-law of Alonzo Romera, was a prominent and rich man in Vera Cruz; he died a natural death.

A good soldier named Sindos de Portillo, a native of Portillo, who possessed very good Indians and was rich, left his Indians, sold his property and divided it among the poor, and became a Franciscan Friar. This Friar lived a holy life and was appreciated in Mexico, and it was generally known that he died a Saint and performed miracles, and he was almost a Saint.

Another good soldier named Francisco de Medina, a native of Medina del Campo, became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk.

Another good soldier named Quintero, a native of Moguer, who owned good Indians and was rich, gave all up for God, and became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk.

Yet another good soldier named Alonzo de Aguilar, who owned the inn, now called "de Aguilar," between Vera Cruz and Puebla, who was rich and held a good assignment of Indians, sold it all and gave it to God, and became a Dominican Friar and was a good monk. This Friar Aguilar was highly respected and was a very good Dominican Friar.

Another good soldier named Fulano Berguillos held good Indians and was rich, but gave it all up, and became a Franciscan Friar. This Burguillos later on left the Order and was not as good a monk as he ought to have been.

Another good soldier named Escalante, who was very courtly, and a good horseman, became a Franciscan Friar; he afterwards left the Monastery, but in about a month returned and took the cowl, and became a very good monk.

Another good soldier named Lyntorno, a native of Guadalajara, became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk; he had held assignments of Indians and been a man of business.

Another good soldier named Gaspar Díaz, a native of Old Castile, who was rich through his Indians as well as from business, gave up everything to God and went to the pine forests of Guaxalcingo[1], in a very solitary part, and made a hermitage and stayed there as a hermit; he led such a good life and so fasted and chastised himself that he became very thin and weak, and it was said that he slept on the ground on some straw. As soon as the[2] good Bishop, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, knew about this he sent to summon him, and commanded him not lead such a severe life. The hermit Gaspar Díaz had such a good repute that two other hermits joined company with him, and all led good lives, and, at the end of the four years that they remained there, God was pleased to take him to his holy glory.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Bellido died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Paynado, who was crippled with the disease of boils after the conquest of Mexico, died in Vera Cruz.

A good soldier named Rivadeo Gallego died at the hands of the Indians, in the affair of Almeria.

Another soldier named Galleguillo, for he was small in stature, died at the hands of the Indians.

A brave and daring soldier named Lerma, who was annoyed because Cortés ordered him to be reprimanded for no fault whatever, went away among the Indians, and nothing [further] was heard of him dead or alive.

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[1] Huexotzinco.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "very reverent."

Another good soldier named Pineda or Pinedo, who had been a servant of Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, when Narvaez came left Mexico to join him, and was killed on the road by the Indians. It was suspected that Cortés ordered him to be killed.

Another good soldier and good crossbowman named Pedro López died a natural death.

Another Pedro López, a crossbowman, went with Alonzo de Ávila to the Island of Hispañola and remained there.

There were three blacksmiths, one named Juan Garcia, the other Hernan Martyn, who married La Bermuda, and I do not remember the name of the third. One died at the hands of the Indians and the other two natural deaths.

A soldier named Álvaro Gallego, who became a settler in Mexico and was brother-in-law to some Zamoras, died a natural death.

Another soldier, who was already an old man, named Paredes (father of one Paredes who is now in the province of Yucatan), died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Guillermo Mexia Rapalpelo [the plunderer] (because he himself said that he was the descendant of a Mexia who went about robbing in the time of the King Don Juan), in company with one Zenteno, died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro de Tápia died paralysed after the capture of Mexico.

Certain pilots, namely Anton de Alamínos and his son, who also bore the same name as his father, natives of Palos, and one Comacho of Triana, and one Juan Álvarez "el Mariquillo" of Huelva, and one Sopuesta del Condado, already an old man, and one Cárdenas (this was he who was affected in his mind when they took out two fifths from the gold, one of them for Cortés), and one

Gonzalo de Umbria; and there was another pilot named Galdin, and there were also other pilots whose names I do not remember, except that of one whom I saw remaining as a settler in Mexico, which was Sopuesta. All the rest went to Cuba and Jamaica and other islands and to Castile to get engagements as pilots, through fear of the Marquis Cortés who was not on good terms with them, because they gave advice to Francisco de Garay about the country which he begged His Majesty to grant to him. There were even four of these pilots who made complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, these were the two Alamínos and Cárdenas and Gonzalo de Umbria, and he [His Majesty] ordered them to be given royal decrees that to each of them there should be given in New Spain a thousand pesos of revenue. Cárdenas came back and the others never returned.

A soldier named Lucas Genovés, who was a pilot, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Juan Genovés died at the hands of the Indians.

A third Genovés, who was a settler in Oaxaca, the husband of an old Portuguese woman, died a natural death.

A soldier named Enríquez, a native of the country of Palencia, was choked by fatigue and the weight of his arms and the heat they caused him.

A soldier named Cristóbal de Jaen, who was a carpenter, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Ochoa, a Basque, a rich and notable man who became a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

A very valiant soldier, named Zamudio, went to Castile because he had stabbed someone in Mexico, and in Castile he became Captain of a company of men at arms, and died in the battle of Castyl Novo with many other Spanish gentlemen.

Another soldier, named Cervantes the crazy, was a buffoon and a knave, and died at the hands of the Indians.

One Plazuela died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Alonzo Pererelmayte, who came married to a very beautiful Indian from Bayamo, died at the hands of the Indians.

Martin Vásquez, a native of Olmedo, a rich and distinguished man who became a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Sebastian Rodríguez, who was a crossbowman and after Mexico was captured became trumpeter, died a natural death.

Another crossbowman named Peñalosa, a companion of Sebastian Rodríguez, died a natural death.

A soldier who called himself Álvarez, a seaman and native of Palos, who was said to have had thirty sons and daughters by Indian women within a matter of three years, died among the Indians in the Higueras.

A soldier named Perez Malinche, whom I afterwards heard called Artiaga, a settler at Puebla and a rich man, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Pedro Gonzáles Sabiote died a natural death.

A good soldier named Gerónimo de Aguilar, whom I include in this list because it was he whom we found at the Punta de Catoche in the hands of the Indians, became our interpreter, and died of bubos.

Another soldier named Pedro Valenciano, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Of two soldiers who bore the surname of Tarifa, one became a settler in Oaxaca and husband of La Muñiz, and died a natural death; the other, who was called Tarifa of the White Hands, was a native of Seville, and that name was given him because he was not fit for warfare or hard-

ship, only to talk of past events ; he died drowned in the River of the Golfo Dulce, he and his horse, and they never appeared again.

Another good soldier named Pedro Sánchez Farfan, a man of worth who was Captain in Texcoco while we were attacking Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Alonzo Escobar, the page, who personally was held in great esteem, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named the Bachelor Escobar was an Apothecary and effected cures; he died a natural death.

Another soldier, also named Escobar, was very brave, but of such [a disposition] and so quarrelsome and ill mannered that he died hanged, because he violated a woman and was mutinous.

A soldier named Fulano de Santiago, a native of Huelva, returned to Castile a rich man. Another man, his companion, named Ponce, from Santiago, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Fulano Méndez, already an old man, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three other soldiers died in the wars which we fought in Tabasco. One was named Saldaña, and I do not remember the names of the other two.

Another good soldier and crossbowman, an old man much given to card playing, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier, also an old man, brought his son named Ortequilla, who was page to the great Montezuma ; both the old man and his son died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Fulano de Gaona, a native of Medina del Rio Seco, died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Juan de Cáceres, who after the capture

of Mexico was a rich man and a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A soldier named Gonzalo Hurones, a native of las Garrovillas, died a natural death.

A soldier, already an old man, called Ramíres the elder, who limped with one leg and was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Another very valiant soldier named Luis Farfan died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Morillas died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Fulano de Rojas afterwards went to Peru and there died.

A certain Astorga, an old man who became a settler at Oaxaca, died a natural death.

Of Pedro Tostado and his son who bore the same name, one Tostado died at the hands of the Indians, and the other died a natural death.

A good soldier named Baldovinos died at the hands of the Indians.

I also wish to place here Guillen de la Loa, and Andrés Núñez, and Maestre Pedro the harpist, and three other soldiers. This Guillen de la Loa was a notable man and was one of those whom Francisco de Garay had sent to explore Panuco; he came to take possession of the country for Garay, and we took him prisoner, him and those in his company, and for this reason I place them in this account among those [the companions] of Cortés. Guillen de la Loa died of a cane thrust which he was given in a game with reed spears. The Maestre Pedro the harpist, who was a Valencian, died a natural death. Andrés Núñes also died a natural death, the others died at the hands of the Indians.

One Porras, very rubicund and a great singer, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Ortiz was a fine performer on the viola, and teacher of dancing; another who came with him as companion, named Bartolomé García, was a miner in the Island of Cuba, and this Ortis and Bartolomé García owned the best horse that there was in our Company, the one which Cortés took from them and paid them for it; both companions died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Serrano, a crossbowman, died at the hands of the Indians.

An old man passed away named Pedro de Valencia, a native of a place belonging to Placencia.

A good soldier named Quintero, who was a shipmaster, died at the hands of the Indians.

Alonzo Rodríguez, who left good mines in the Island of Cuba and was a rich man, died at the hands of the Indians at the rocky hills which they now call the Peñoles which the Marquis captured.

There also died at that place another good soldier named Gaspar Sánchez, a nephew of the Treasurer of Cuba, with other soldiers who were followers of Narvaez.

One Pedro de Palma, who was the first husband of Elvira López la Larga, died hanged, together with another soldier of Cortés' company named Trebejo, a native of Fuente Ginaldo. Gil Gonzáles de Ávila or Francisco de las Casas ordered them to be hanged, and they hanged a presbyter together with them, as revolters and instigators of mutinies, when they were on their way to New Spain from Naco, after they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid.

These soldiers and the presbyter belonged to the party of Cristóbal de Olid, and, when I came from the Hibueras in the company of Captain Luis Marin, I was shown the tree, a ceiba, where they were hanged.

Once more to take up my first list: Andrés de Mol, a Levantine, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Albera, a native of Villa Nueva de la Serena, died at the hands of the Indians.

Concerning other very good soldiers who used to be in Cuba, who were sailors, pilots, masters and mates of the artificers of the ships which we destroyed, many of them were very active soldiers in the wars and battles, but as I do not remember them all I do not place their names here.

There were also other soldiers who were seamen named los Peñates, and the Pinzons, the former natives of Gibraltar and the others of Palos; some of them died at the hands of the Indians and others natural deaths.

I also wish to mention myself here in this report, at the end of all, because I came on a voyage of discovery twice before Don Hernando Cortés undertook his voyage, (as I have already stated in the chapter that speaks about it), and the third time with Cortés himself. My name is Bernal Díaz del Castillo and I am a settler and Regidor of the City of Santiago de Guatemala, and a native of the very noble and famous and most celebrated town of Medino del Campo, the son of Francisco Díaz del Castillo, who was Regidor of it, and for another name was called "el Galan," may he rest in holy glory. I give many thanks and much praise to Our Lord Jesus Christ and our Lady the Holy Virgin Mary, His blessed mother, who have protected me so that I have not been offered in sacrifice, as in those times they sacrificed the majority of my companions whom I have named. So now one can understand and see clearly our heroic deeds, and who were the valiant Captains and brave soldiers who conquered this part of the New World, and the honour of us all shall not be attributed to one Captain alone.

CHAPTER CCVI.

About the stature and shape of certain of the Captains and brave soldiers and the age they had attained when we came to conquer New Spain.

I HAVE already spoken, in the chapter that treats of it, of the age and the personal appearence of the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés at the time when he died at Castilleja de la Cuesta, and of the rank he held, and other things which will be found written in this narrative.

I have also said, in the chapter that tells about it, how old Captain Cristóbal de Olid was when he went with the fleet to the Hibueras, and about his disposition and personal appearance, and there [the description] can be seen.

I wish now to record the age and appearance of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was Comendador of Santiago and Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala, Honduras, and Chiapa. He was about thirty-four[1] years old when he came here, of good size, and well proportioned, with a very cheerful countenance and a winning smile,[2] and because he was so handsome the Mexican Indians gave him the name of "Tonatio," which means "the Sun." He was very active and a good horseman,[3] and above all was very frank-hearted and a good talker, and he was very neat in his attire but with rich and costly clothes. He wore a small gold chain round his neck with a jewel, and a ring with a good diamond. As I have already stated where he died and other things about him, I will say no more here.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "six."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "but grave when necessary."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "and very valiant."

The Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo was of medium height and cheerful countenance; he liked merriment, and was a man of business and a good horseman, and was about thirty-five years old when he came. He was open-handed and spent more than his income; he was Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan and had other titles; he died in Castile.

Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval was a very valiant Captain, and was about twenty-four[1] years of age when he came here; he was Chief Alguacil of New Spain and for a matter of ten months was Governor of New Spain together with the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada. He was not very tall but was very well made and robust, with a broad and deep chest, as were his shoulders. He was somewhat bow-legged, and was a very good horseman. His countenance tended towards the coarse, and his chestnut hair and beard were rather curly. His voice was not very clear, but slightly hesitating and lisping, more or less so. He was not a man of letters but of good average knowledge, nor was he covetous of anything but to be of good repute and act like a good and valiant Captain. In the wars which we waged in New Spain he always showed consideration for the soldiers who appeared to him to be behaving like men, and he protected and helped them. He was not a man to wear rich apparel but was always plainly clad. He owned the best horse, the best galloper and most easily turned to one side or the other, and they said that its like had never been seen in Castile or elsewhere. It was a chestnut with a star on its forehead and a white stocking on its near hind leg. It was named Motilla, and now when men dispute about good horses it is the custom to say in proof of excellence, "It is as good as was Motilla." I must stop talking about horses

[1] Blotted out in the original: "eight or thirty."

and say about this valiant Captain that he died in the town of Palos, when he went with Don Hernando Cortés to kiss the feet of His Majesty. It was about Gonzalo de Sandoval that the Marquis Cortés said to His Majesty, that besides the brave soldiers whom he had in his company, who were so valiant that one might name them amongst the most notable that the world had known, there was above them all Sandoval, who was already [fitted to be] the commander of many armies both in council and in action. He was a native of Medellin and a gentleman by birth, and his father was Alcalde of a fortress.

Let us go on to speak of another good Captain named Juan Velásquez de Leon, a native of Old Castile; he was about thirty-six years old when he came here. He was of good size and robust with good shoulders and chest, all well proportioned and upstanding. His countenance was a strong one and his beard was somewhat curly and well kept, his voice was harsh and coarse and he stuttered a little; he was very spirited and a good talker, and when at that time he had any possessions he shared them with his comrades. It is said that in the Island of Hispañola he killed a gentleman of importance, a rich man named Rívas Altias or Altas Rívas, in personal combat, and when he had killed him neither the Magistrates of that Island nor the Royal Audiencia were ever able to catch him to execute justice in the case, but although they went to arrest him he defended himself against the Alguacils, and he came to the Island of Cuba, and from Cuba to New Spain. He was a very good horseman and both on foot and on horseback was a very thorough man. He died at the bridges when we went fleeing from Mexico.

Diego de Ordás was a native of Campos de Valverde or Castro Verde; he was probably forty years old when

he came here, and was Captain of sword and shield soldiers, for he was no horseman; he was brave and judicious. He was of good height and sturdy and had a very strong face with a thin blackish beard. In his speech he pronounced certain words imperfectly and with something of a stammer. He was frank and a good talker, a Comendador of [the order of] Santiago, and died in the affair of Marañon when he was Captain or Governor, but I do not know very well about that.

Captain Luis Marin was of fair size, robust and vigorous; he was bow-legged and his beard was reddish and his face long and pleasing, except that he had scars as though he had had smallpox. He was about thirty years old when he came here. He was a native of San Lucar, lisped a little like a Sevillano, was a good horseman, and a good talker[1]; he died in the affairs of Michuacan.

Captain Pedro de Ircio was of middle height and limped, he had a cheerful face and talked to excess, and so it would come about that he was always telling stories about Don Pedro Giron and the Conde de Hurueña; he was cunning and so we called him "Sour grapes" without works, and without having done anything worth recording he died in Mexico.

Alonzo de Ávila was a Captain for a certain time in the affair of Mexico, and was the first Accountant that Cortés chose until our Lord the King should choose otherwise. He had a good figure and pleasing face, and in talking he expressed himself very clearly and with good judgment. He was very daring and valiant, and about thirty-three years old when he came here. There was another [good] point, that he was very frank with his comrades, but he was so arrogant and fond of commanding and not being commanded, and somewhat jealous, besides being proud

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "he did not know how to read."

and quarrelsome, that Cortés could not endure him, and this was the reason why he sent him to Castile as Proctor, together with one Antonio de Quiñones, a native of Zamora. With them he sent the personal effects and riches of Montezuma and Guatemoc, and the Frenchmen stole them, and they captured Alonzo de Ávila (for Quiñones was already dead in Terceira). Two years later Alonzo de Ávila returned to New Spain and died either in Yucatan or Mexico. This Alonzo de Ávila was uncle to the gentlemen who were beheaded in Mexico, who were the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, which event I have already spoken about and reported in my history.

Andrés de Monjaras was a Captain during the war in Mexico; he was of fair height and pleasing countenance with a black beard, he was good company, but because he was very ill with boils he did not do anything worth recording, but I place his name in this report so that it may be known that he was a Captain. He was about thirty years old when he came here, he died from the pain of his boils.

Let us go on to a very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, a native of the land of Medina del Campo; he was about twenty six years old when he came here, was well made and robust, neither tall nor short, and had a good chest and shoulders; he had rather a coarse face, but was amiable, his beard and hair were inclined to be curly, and his voice was clear. This soldier was so valiant in all that we saw him do, and so quick with his arms that we held him in great good will and honoured him. It was he who saved Don Hernando Cortés from death in the affair at Xochimilco, when the Mexican squadrons had dragged him from his horse "El Romo" and had seized him to carry him off to be sacrificed. He also rescued Cortés another time on the small causeway, when a

number of Mexicans had grappled with him to carry him off for sacrifice. They had already wounded Cortés himself in one leg and had carried off sixty-two soldiers, when this brave soldier performed wonders in personal combat, and, although he was very badly wounded, killed and slashed and stabbed all the Indians who were carrying Cortés off and made them release him, and this saved his life, but Cristóbal de Olea gave up his life there through saving him.

I wish to speak of two soldiers named Gonzalo Domínguez and a certain Lares. I assert that they were so valiant and daring that we esteemed them equally with Cristóbal de Olid. They were big men and sturdy, with pleasant faces, good speakers and very well conducted, and, so as not to waste more words in their praise, they may be numbered amongst the most valiant soldiers that Castile has produced; they died in the battle of Otumba—I speak of Lares—Domínguez [died] in the battle of Huastepeque, from a horse rolling on top of him.

Let us go on to another good Captain and valiant soldier named Andrés de Tápia. He was about twenty-four years old when he came here, his face was rather ash-coloured and not very pleasing, he was well made and had a thin and scanty beard, and was a good Captain both on foot and on horseback; he died a natural death.

If it were necessary to describe all the features and forms of our Captains, and brave soldiers, who came with Cortés it would be a long story, for as all were valiant and of great repute, we were worthy to be recorded in letters of gold. I do not include here other[1] Captains who belonged to the Company of Narvaez, for my intention since I began to tell my story was to record only the doings and adventures of us who came with Cortés, and I only wish to place

[1] Blotted out in the original: "many valiant."

here [the name of] Captain Panfilo de Narvaez, him who came against us from the Island of Cuba with thirteen hundred soldiers, and with all these[1] [at his back] we defeated him with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers, and how and when and in what way that deed was done, may be seen in my narrative.

To go back to my story, Narvaez was by appearance about forty years old, tall and strong limbed, his face long, with a red beard, and an agreeable presence. His speech and voice was deep as though it came from a cavern. He was a good horseman, said to be brave, a native of Valladolid or of Tudela de Duero, and was married to a lady named Maria de Valenzuela. He was a Captain in the Island of Cuba and a rich man, but said to be very parsimonious. When we defeated him he lost an eye; he made use of good arguments in what he said. He went to Castile to complain to His Majesty of Cortés and of us, and His Majesty granted him the government of certain lands in Florida and there he spent and lost whatever he possessed.

Two interested gentlemen have seen and read the foregoing record of all the Captains and soldiers who came over to New Spain from the Island of Cuba with the daring and valiant Don Hernando Cortés, which I have written down with the qualities both of their bodies and faces, their ages and the rank they held, and where they died and what country they belonged to, and they [the two gentlemen] have told me that they marvel at me, how after so many years I have not forgotten and [still] recollect them. To this I answer that it is no great matter that I now remember their names, although we were five hundred and fifty comrades, for we always

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "not counting among them the sailors."

discussed matters together, on expeditions as well as when keeping watch and in the battles and encounters of the wars, and [noted] those of us who were killed in the battles, and how they were carried off to be sacrificed. In this way we told [these things] to one another, especially when we came out wounded from some very bloody and indecisive battles and missed those who remained there dead, and for this reason I include them in this narrative. It is not to be wondered at, for in past times there were great Kings and valiant Captains who, when going to war, knew the names of their soldiers and recognised them and called them by name, and even knew of what provinces or countries or regions they were native. In those days each one of the armies they led often numbered more than thirty thousand men, and the historians who have written about it say that Mithridates, the King of Pontus, was one of those who knew [the men of] his armies, another was the King of Egypt, and another the King of Epirus, otherwise called Alexander. They also say that Hannibal, the great Captain of Carthage, knew all his soldiers, and in our time the valiant and great Captain Don Gonzalo Hernández de Córdova, and many other brave commanders have done so. Moreover I say that if I knew how to paint and carve as did that famous Apelles or those of our own times Berruguete and Michael Angelo, and the famous man of Burgos whom they say is a second Apelles, I have in my mind and sense and memory their bodies and forms and heights and manners and faces and features [so fixed] that I could draw all those I have mentioned true to nature, and even how each one entered on a battle and the great spirit they displayed. Thanks to God and our Lord Jesus Christ that I escaped being sacrificed to the Idols, and was freed from many perils and snares, so that I can now write this memorial or narrative.

CHAPTER CCVII.

About the matters dealt with herein, concerning the merits which we the true conquistadores possess, which will be pleasant to hear.

I HAVE already enumerated the soldiers who came with Cortés and where they died, and if one wishes to know about us, we were most of us gentlemen, although all could not be of such illustrious lineage, for it is evident that in this world men are not born equal either in rank or in virtue. Leaving this talk aside, in addition to our ancient nobility we performed heroic deeds and great exploits in the wars, fighting by day and night serving our Lord and King, discovering these lands until we conquered New Spain and the Great City of Mexico and many other provinces at our own cost,[1] when we were far away from Castile and had no other help save that of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the true help and support that inspires us more than ever. If we read the ancient scriptures which speak of it, and if it is as they say, many gentlemen were in past times exalted and placed in high position, both in Spain as well as in other countries, serving, as at that time they served, in the wars, and for other duties which were acceptable to the Kings who then reigned. I also have noted that some of those gentlemen, who then rose until they held titles of estates and honours, did not go to such wars, nor did they join in the battles, without first being paid wages and salaries. Besides their being paid they were given towns and castles and great lands in perpetuity, and privileges with exemptions which their descendants hold. In addition to this, when the King Don Jaime de Aragon conquered and captured a great part of their kingdom from the Moors, he

[1] Blotted out in the original : "and reputation."

divided it among the gentlemen and soldiers who were present at its conquest, and since those times they own their coats of arms and they are powerful. The same when Granada was captured, and Naples at the time of the Great Captain. The Prince of Orange in the affair of Naples also gave lands and lordships to those who assisted them in the wars and battles. I have called this to mind so that there can be seen our many good and notable services which we rendered our Lord the King and all Christendom; let them be placed in the balance and everything measured in proportion, and it will be found that we are worthy and deserving to be placed and rewarded like the gentlemen just mentioned by me. Although to the valiant soldiers whom in these latter pages I have called to mind many other brave and vigorous comrades could be added, all gave me the reputation of being a good soldier.

To go back to my story, let interested readers observe my narrative with attention and they will see in how many battles and encounters and wars I have been present since I came to explore,[1] and how I have been twice seized and grabbed by many Mexican Indians, with whom at the time I was fighting, who intended to carry me off to be sacrificed, and at the same moment they carried off many others of my companions, to say nothing of other great perils and hardships, both from hunger and thirst and infinite toil, which are sure to happen to those who undertake similar explorations in new countries, which will be found described point by point in this my story. I do not wish to dip my pen further into this but will record the benefits which have followed on our illustrious conquests.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and how full of wounds I have been."

CHAPTER CCVIII.

How the Indians throughout New Spain practised many sacrifices and vices, and [how] we did away with these and instructed them in the holy matters of good doctrine.

I HAVE given an account of events which should be clearly told, such as the benefits which have accrued both to the service of God and of His Majesty through our glorious conquests, costly as they were in the lives of the majority of my comrades, for very few of us are still alive, and those who died were sacrificed, and their hearts and blood offered to the Mexican idols named Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos.

I wish to begin by speaking about the sacrifices which we found in the countries and provinces we conquered. These [provinces] were full of sacrifices and iniquities, for they slew every year in Mexico alone, and certain neighbouring pueblos on the Lake, over two thousand[1] persons big and little, as was found from the count which the Franciscan Monks made (and they were the first to come to New Spain, four and a half years before the Dominicans came), and these Franciscans were very good monks and [men] of holy principles.

In other provinces many more would be added to this count, and they practised other vices of sacrifice, and these were in so many ways I should never finish writing about them in detail, but those which I saw and took note of I will call to mind. They were accustomed to sacrifice the foreheads, ears, tongues, and lips, the breasts, arms, thighs and legs, and even the genital parts, and in some provinces they were circumcised and had flint knives with which to circumcise. The oratories,

[1] Blotted out in the original: "and five hundred."

which are Cues, for so they are called among them, were so numerous that I deliver them to execration. Much in the same way as we in Castile have in every city our holy churches and parish churches and hermitages and wayside chapels, so in this country of New Spain they have their Idol houses full of devils and diabolical figures. In addition to these Cues, every Indian man and woman has two altars, one near their sleeping place and the other at the door of the house, and in the houses many little chests and others which they call "petacas" full of Idols, some small and others large, and small stones and flints, and little books of a paper made from the bark of a tree which they call "Amate," and in them are marked the signs of dates and of past events. In addition to this nearly all of them were sodomites, especially those who live on the coast and hot country, to such an extent that boys go about clothed in the dress of women to gain [a livelihood] in that diabolical and abominable employment. Then they ate human flesh, just as we bring beef from the butchers, and they have in all the pueblos prisons of stout beams, made like houses, as cages, and in them they place and fatten many Indian men and women and boys, and when they are fat they sacrifice and eat them. In addition to this, in the wars which some provinces and pueblos wage against others, those who are captured and taken prisoners are sacrificed and eaten. Then sons have carnal connection with mothers, and brothers with sisters, and uncles with nieces; many are found who indulge in this iniquitous vice. About drunkards I do not know what to say, so many obscenities take place among them; I wish to note only one here which we found in the province of Panuco; they make an injection by the anus with some [hollow] canes and distend the intestines with wine, and this is done among them in the same way as among us an enema is applied

Then they have as many women as they wish, and they have many other vices and iniquities. From all these things which I have enumerated it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that, with his holy aid, we, the true Conquistadores, who have escaped from the wars, battles, and dangers of death, already recorded by me, have freed them, and led them into cleanly ways and taught them holy doctrine.

It is true that when two years had already elapsed and we had nearly all the lands at peace, with the cleanliness and manner of life which I have mentioned, some very good Franciscan Friars arrived in New Spain who set a very good example and doctrine. Four years later other good monks came, of [the order of] Señor Santo Domingo, who have extirpated it [vice] from the very root, and have gained much fruit in the holy doctrine[1]. However it should be carefully noted that, after God, it is to us the true Conquistadores who discovered and conquered it [the country], and from the first took away their Idols and taught them the holy doctrine, that the prize and reward for all of it is due, before all other persons, although they be priests; for when a good beginning is made and the middle is [satisfactory] and the end good, the whole is worthy of praise, which interested readers can see in the good order, Christianity, and justice which we show them in New Spain.

I will leave this subject and will relate the other advantages which, after God, because of us, have come to the natives of New Spain.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and Christianity of the natives."

CHAPTER CCIX.

How we impressed very good and holy doctrines on the Indians of New Spain, and about their conversion, and how they were baptised and turned to our holy faith, and how we taught them the Offices in use in Castile, and to comprehend and secure justice.

AFTER getting rid of the idolatries and all the evil vices they practised, it pleased our Lord God that with his holy aid and with the good fortunes and the holy Christianity of our most Christian Emperor Don Carlos of Glorious Memory, and of our King and Lord the felicitous and invincible King of Spain, our Lord Don Felipe, his much loved and cherished son (May God grant him many years to live with an increase of more kingdoms, so that he may enjoy them in this his holy and happy [life-]time), there were baptised, after we conquered the country, all, both men and women, and children who have since been born, whose souls formerly went, lost, to the Infernal regions. Now there are many and good monks of [the order of] Señor San Francisco and of Santo Domingo and of other Orders, who go among the pueblos preaching, and, when a child is of the age our holy Mother Church of Rome ordains, they baptise it. Furthermore, through the holy sermons preached, the Holy Gospel is firmly planted in their hearts, and they go to Confession every year, and some of them, who have most knowledge of our holy faith, receive the Sacrament. In addition to this they have their Churches richly adorned with altars and all pertaining to the holy divine worship, with crosses and candlesticks and wax tapers and chalice and patens and silver plates, some large and some small, and censers all worked in silver. Then, in rich pueblos, they have copes, chasubles, and frontals, and often in moderate [sized] pueblos they are of velvet, damask and

satin, and of taffeta of various colours and workmanship, and the arms of the crosses are elaborately embroidered with gold and silk[1], and the crosses of the dead are of black satin, and figured on them is a death's head with its ugly likeness and the bones, and the pall of the bier itself is sometimes good and at other times not so good. Then the necessary bells [vary] with the rank of each pueblo. There is no lack of choir singers with well harmonised voices such as tenors, trebles, contraltos, and basses, and in some pueblos there are organs, and nearly all of them have flutes, oboes, sackbuts and lutes. As for trumpets, shrill and deafening, there are not as many in my country, which is Old Castile, as there are in this province of Guatemala. It is a thing to be grateful for to God, and for profound consideration, to see how the natives assist in celebrating a holy Mass, especially when it is chanted by the Franciscans and Dominicans who have charge of the curacy of the pueblo where it is celebrated. There is another good thing they do [namely] that both men women and children, who are of the age to learn them, know all the holy prayers in their own languages and are obliged to know them. They have other good customs about their holy Christianity, that when they pass near a sacred altar or Cross they bow their heads with humility, bend their knees, and say the prayer "Our Father," which we Conquistadores have taught them, and they place lighted wax candles before the holy altars and crosses, for formerly they did not know how to use wax in making candles. In addition to what I have said, we taught them to show great reverence and obedience to all the monks and priests, and, when these went to their pueblos, to sally forth to receive them with

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and even in some places with pearls."

lighted wax candles and to ring the bells, and to feed them very well. This they do with the monks, and they paid the same attentions to the priests, but after they had seen and known some of these and the covetousness of the rest, and that they committed irregularities in the pueblos, they took no [further] notice of them and did not want them as Curas in their pueblos, but Franciscans and Dominicans. It does not mend matters that the poor Indians say to a prelate that they do not hear him or . . . . but what more there is to be said about this subject had better remain in the inkpot, and I will return to my story. Besides the good customs reported by me they have others both holy and good, for when the day of Corpus Christi comes, or that of Our Lady, or other solemn festivals when among us we form processions, most of the pueblos in the neighbourhood of this city of Guatemala come out in procession with their crosses and lighted wax tapers, and carry on their shoulders, on a litter, the image of the saint who is the patron of the pueblo, as richly [adorned] as they are able, and they come chanting litanies and other prayers and playing on their flutes and trumpets. The same thing they do in their own pueblos when the day comes for these solemn festivals. They have the custom of making offerings, on Sundays and at Easter[1] and especially on All Saints Day, and about this custom of making offerings the secular priests hurry them up in their parishes by such means that the Indians cannot possibly forget, for two or three days before the festival takes place they order them to prepare for the offering. The Monks also [seek] offerings, but not with so great solicitude.

Let us get on, and state how most of the Indian

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[1] Domingos y Pascuas—Pascua is not only Easter, but any festival lasting three days.

natives of these lands have successfully learned all the trades that there are among us in Castile, and have their shops of the trades, and artisans, and gain a living by it. There are gold and silver smiths, both of chased and of hollow work, and they are very excellent craftsman, also lapidaries and painters. Carvers also do most beautiful work with their delicate burins of iron, especially in carving jades[1], and in them depict all the phases of the holy passion of our Lord Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, such that, if one had not seen them, one would never believe that Indians had done. It seems in my judgment that the most renowned painter, such as was Apelles in ancient times, or in our times a certain Berruguete and Michael Angelo or the other modern now lately become famous, who is a native of Burgos,[2] who has as great a reputation as Apelles, could not emulate with their most skilful pencils the works of art in jade, nor the reliquaries, which are executed by three Mexican Indian craftsmen of that trade, named Andrés de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and El Crespillo. In addition to this nearly all the sons of Chieftains are usually grammarians, and would have become expert, if the holy synod had not commanded them to abandon that which the very reverend Archbishop of Mexico had ordered to be done.

Many sons of Chieftains know how to read and write, and to compose books of plain chant, and there are craftsmen in weaving satin and taffeta and making woollen cloth, from veintecuatrenos[3] to sackcloth, and cotton cloths and rugs. They are carders, woolcombers, and weavers in the same manner as there are in Segovia and in Cuenca, and others are hat makers and soap

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[1] Esmeriles = half precious stones, such as jade, agate, etc.

[2] In the original there appears blotted out: "who is called . .," and then follows a blank space.

[3] A technical term for a narrow band of twenty-four threads.

makers. There are only two crafts they have not been able to undertake, although they have tried: these are to make glass, and to become druggists, but I believe them to be so intelligent that they will acquire them very well. Some of them are surgeons and herbalists. They understand conjuring and working puppets and make very good guitars, indeed they were craftsmen by nature before we came to New Spain. Now they breed cattle of all sorts, and break in oxen, and plough the land, and sow wheat, and thresh harvest, and sell it, and make bread and biscuit, and they have planted their lands and hereditaments with all the trees and fruits which we have brought from Spain, and sell the fruit which they produce. They have planted so many trees that, because the peaches are not good for the health, and the banana plantations give them too much shade, they have cut and are cutting down many of them and putting in quinces and apples and pears, which they hold in higher esteem.

Let us go on, and I will speak of the laws which we have shown them how to guard and execute, and how every year they are to choose the Alcaldes ordinarios and Regidores, Notaries, Alguacils, Fiscals, and Mayordomos, and have their municipal houses (Cabildos) where they meet two days in the week, and they place doorkeepers in them, and give judgment and order debts to be paid which are owed by one to another. For some criminal acts they flog and chastise, and if it is for a death or something atrocious they remit it [the case] to the Governors, if there is no Royal Audiencia. According to what people, who know very well, have told me, in Tlaxcala, Texcoco, Cholula, Oaxaca and Tepeaca and in other great cities, when the Indians hold Court (Cabildo), Macebearers with gilt maces precede those who are Governors and Alcaldes (the same as the Viceroys of New Spain take with them), and justice is done with as much

propriety and authority as among ourselves, and they appreciate and desire to know much of the laws of the kingdom.

In addition to this, many of the Caciques are rich, and possess horses, and bring good saddles with trappings, and ride abroad through the cities and towns and places where they are going for amusement, or of which they are natives, and bring Indians and pages to accompany them. In some pueblos, they even play at tilting with reeds and have bull fights, and they tilt at the ring, especially on Corpus Christi day or the day of San Juan or Señor Santiago, or of Our Lady of August, or at the removal[1] of the Saint of the pueblo from the Church. There are many who wait for the bulls although they are fierce, and many of them are horsemen, especially in a pueblo named Chiapa of the Indians, and, even those who are not Caciques, nearly all of them own horses, and some own herds of mares and mules, and use them to bring in firewood and maize and lime and other things of the kind which they sell in the Plazas, and many of them are carriers in the same way as we have in our Castile.

Not to waste more words, they carry on all trades very perfectly—and even know how to weave tapestry cloths.

I will stop talking further on this subject and will tell of many other grandeurs which, through us, there have been and still are in New Spain.

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[1] Probably the round of visits paid by the image of the saint to the various Cofradias.

CHAPTER CCX.

About other matters and advantages which have followed from our renowned conquests and labours.

THERE will already have been understood from the past chapters all that has been reported by me about the benefits and advantages which have been conferred by our renowned and holy exploits and conquests. I will now speak of the gold and silver and precious stones and other riches, from cochineal to sarsaparilla and cowhides, which have gone from New Spain and are going every year to Castile to our King and Lord, both on account of his Royal Fifths, as well as through many other presents which we sent him as soon as we took possession of these lands for him, not counting the great quantity which merchants and passengers took. Since the wise King Solomon built and ordered to be constructed the Holy Temple of Jerusalem with the gold and silver which they brought him from the Islands of Tarsis, Ophir, and Saba, there has never been reported in any ancient writings more gold and silver and riches than what has gone daily to Castile from these lands. I assert this, although already from Peru, as is notorious, innumerable thousands of pesos of gold and silver have been sent. At the time we conquered New Spain the name of Peru was not known, nor was it discovered or subdued until ten years[1] later. Always from the very beginning we sent very rich presents to His Majesty, and for this reason and for others which I will state I place New Spain first, for we well know that in the events which have taken place in Peru the Captains, Governors, and soldiers joined in civil war, and all has been upset in blood and in the

[1] Blotted out in the original: "two three four."

deaths of many soldier bandits, because they have not had the respect and obedience which was due to our Lord and King, and there has been a great decrease [in numbers] of the natives. In this New Spain we all bow down, and will for ever bend our breasts to the ground, as we are bound to do, to our King and Lord, and place our lives and fortunes, whatever may happen, at the service of His Majesty. Besides, let the interested readers take note that the cities, towns, and villages which are peopled by Spaniards in these parts (and they are so numerous that I do not know their names) keep quiet and pay attention to the bishops, who number ten, not counting the Archbishop of the very distinguished City of Mexico. There are three Royal Audiencias, all of which I will speak about further on, and also of those who have governed us, and of the Archbishops and bishops that there have been. Let them observe the holy cathedral churches and the monasteries where there are Dominican Friars, as well as Franciscans, and those of the order of Mercy, and Augustinians, and let them observe the Hospitals and the great indulgence they receive, and the Holy Church of our Lady of Guadalupe which is at Tepeaquilla, where the camp of Gonzalo de Sandoval used to be stationed when we captured Mexico, and let them observe the holy miracles which she has performed and is still doing every day, and let us give many thanks and praise to God and to His Blessed Mother Our Lady, for granting us favour and help so that we could win these lands where there is [now] so much Christianity.

Moreover, let them take note that there is in Mexico a university where grammar and theology, rhetoric, logic and philosophy, with other arts and branches of science, are studied and learned. They have type and craftsmen to print books both in Latin and in the Spanish, and they graduate as licentiates and doctors.

There are many other grandeurs and riches which one might mention, thus the rich silver mines which have been discovered here and are continually being discovered, by which our Castile is made prosperous and favoured and respected. As enough has been said about the advantages which have followed over and over again out of our heroical conquests, I wish to add that wise and learned persons may read this my story from beginning to end and they will see that in no writings which have been written in the world, nor in the records of human exploits, have there been seen men who have conquered more kingdoms or principalities than we the true conquistadores have done for our Lord and King, and among the brave conquistadores, my comrades, (and there were very valiant ones among them) they included me[1] as being the oldest of them all.

I once more assert, and I repeat it so many times, that I am the oldest of them, and have served as a very good soldier of His Majesty, and I say it with sorrow in my heart, for I find myself poor and very old, with a marriageable daughter and my sons young men already grown up with beards, and others to be educated, and I am not able to go to Castile to His Majesty to put before him things which are necessary for his Royal Service, and also that he should grant me favours, for they owe me many debts.

I will leave this talk, for if I dip my pen in it deeper I shall become very odious to jealous persons. I want to ask one question in the way of a dialogue, and in view of the fair and illustrious Fame that resounds in the world regarding our manifold good and noble services which we have rendered to God, His Majesty, and all Christendom. It [Fame] loudly clamours, saying, that it would be just

[1] Blotted out in the original: "as having the reputation of a good soldier."

and reasonable that we should have good incomes and more advantages than other persons have who have not done service in these conquests nor in other parts for His Majesty. So it [Fame] inquires, "Where are our palaces and mansions, and what coats of arms are there on them distinguishing us from the others?" And, "Are our heroic deeds and arms carved on them and placed as a memorial in the manner that gentlemen have them in Spain?" (who I have said in a former chapter, in years past, served the Kings who reigned at that time, for our exploits are not inferior to those they accomplished, on the contrary they are of memorable fame, and may be counted among the most glorious the world has ever seen.) Illustrious Fame furthermore asks on behalf of the Conquistadores who have escaped from the battles, and for the dead, "Where are their tombs and what blazons are there on them?" These can be answered in all truth with, "Oh Excellent and very Illustrious Fame, longed for and revered by the good and virtuous, your illustrious name is neither desired to be seen or heard among the malicious and among persons who have endeavoured to hide our heroic deeds, so that you should not extol our persons as is deserved.—We would have you know, Señora, that of the five hundred and fifty soldiers of Cuba there are alive in all New Spain, out of all of them, in this year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight, when I am writing this my story, only five! Most of them died in the wars already described by me at the hands of the Indians, and were sacrificed to the Idols, and the rest died natural deaths. If you ask me the whereabouts of their tombs, I say they are the bellies of the Indians who ate their legs and thighs, arms and flesh, and feet and hands, and the rest found sepulchre in, and their entrails were thrown to, the tigers and serpents and falcons which at that time they kept for show in strong houses, and

those were their tombs and there are their blazons. It seems to me that their names should be written in letters of gold, for they died that cruel death in the service of God and of His Majesty, and to give light to those who were in darkness, and also to acquire riches, which all of us men usually came to seek."

After having given [this] report to Illustrious Fame, she asks me about those who came over with Narvaez and Garay. I reply that the followers of Narvaez were thirteen hundred, without counting among them the sailors, and not more than ten or eleven of them are alive; all the rest died in the wars and were sacrificed, and their bodies were eaten by Indians just the same as our [comrades] were. Of those who came over with Garay from the Island of Jamaica, according to my calculation, with the three companies which came to San Juan de Ulua before Garay came, and with those whom he brought last when he came himself, in all there would be another twelve hundred soldiers, and nearly all of them were sacrificed to the Idols in the province of Panuco and their bodies eaten by the natives of that province.

In addition to this, Revered Fame asks about those fifteen[1] soldiers who landed in New Spain, belonging to the Company of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, when he was defeated and died in Florida. As to what had become of them, to this I reply that I have not seen one of them, all are dead; "and I would have you know, Excellent Fame, that of all those whom I have counted over and over again [only] five of us companions of Cortés are now living, and we are very old and suffering from infirmities and, worst of all, are very poor and burdened with sons and marriageable daughters and grandchildren, and with very little income, and thus we pass our lives in hardship and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "or twenty."

privations. I have already given a reply to all you have asked me and regarding our palaces and blazons and tombs, and I beg you, Illustrious Fame, from now onwards to raise higher your excellent and most virtuous voice, so that throughout the world our great prowess may be clearly distinguished, so that ill-disposed men with their harsh disseminating and envious tongues may not obscure or undo it, and to so manage that the reward is due to those who gained these lands for His Majesty, and is not to be bestowed on those who do not deserve it, because His Majesty has no account with them, nor they with His Majesty, for services rendered."

To this [question] which I have put to the most Virtuous Fame, she answers and says that she will very willingly do it, and adds that she is astonished that we do not possess the best assignments of Indians in the land, for we have conquered it, and His Majesty orders them to be given in the same way as to the Marquis Cortés, (it is not to be understood that it would be to the same extent, but in moderation). Moreover, Revered Fame says that the affairs of the brave and gallant Cortés are to be always highly esteemed and counted among the deeds of valiant Captains. Moreover Truthful Fame states that there is no mention of any of us in the books and histories which have been written by the Chronicler Francisco López de Gomara, nor in that of the Doctor Yllescas, who wrote the official report, nor in other recent writers. They say in their books that the Marquis Cortés alone discovered it [the land], and conquered it, and the Captains and Soldiers who gained it are left blank, without mention of our persons or conquests, and that now she is greatly rejoiced to know clearly that all that is written in my story is true, and that the writing itself expresses literally what happened, and not flatteries nor vicious words; nor in order to exalt one Captain alone

does it tend to belittle many Captains and brave soldiers, as Francisco López de Gomara has done, and the other recent chroniclers who follow history as presented by him, without adding to or deducting from anything he says. Good Fame promises me besides that, on her part, wherever she may be, she will proclaim it in a clear and ringing voice, and in addition to this, that she will explain so that, as soon as my history (if it is printed) is seen and heard, all will give it true belief and will cast doubt on the flatteries which the former [historians] have written. Apart from what I have stated in the form of a dialogue, a certain Doctor, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala, asked me how it was that Cortés, when he wrote to His Majesty, and when he went the first time to Castile, did not act as advocate for us, because through us, after God, he became Marquis and Governor. To this I answered then, and repeat it now, that as he took for himself in the beginning, when His Majesty granted him the government, all the best of New Spain, believing that he would always be absolute Lord and that by his hand [at will] he could give us Indians or take them away, for this reason it was supposed that he did not [then] do it, nor did he wish to write about it. Also because at that time His Majesty gave him the Marquisate which he holds, and as he was importuning him to give him back the government of New Spain as he had held it before, and he [His Majesty] answered that he had already given him the Marquisate, he did not seek to ask a single thing for us that might have benefited us, only for himself alone. Furthermore, the Factor and Veedor and other Gentlemen from Mexico had informed His Majesty that Cortés had taken for himself the best provinces and pueblos in New Spain, and had given other good pueblos to his friends and relations who had lately come from Castile, and that little was left as royal patrimony. Later on we got to

know that His Majesty ordered that from what he [Cortés] had in excess he should give to those who came with him, and at that time His Majesty embarked in Barcelona to go to Flanders. If Cortés at the time when we conquered New Spain (as I have said before in the Chapter which treats of it) had divided it into five parts, and had allotted the best and richest province and cities as a fifth part to our Lord the King for his Royal Fifth, he would have done well, and if he had taken for himself one part, and had left half a part for Churches and monasteries belonging to the cities, so that His Majesty should have two and a half parts over, for giving away and making grants and dividing among us. We might have kept these in perpetuity, Cortés his share and we ours, for as our Cæsar was a very good Christian and the conquests had cost him nothing at all, he might have granted us these favours. But as we, the true Conquistadores, at that time did not know what demanding justice meant, nor to whom to apply for it concerning our services, or other matters of grievances and violence that took place during the war, (except to Cortés himself as our Captain who should have settled it,) we were left positively denuded, with only the trifling amounts that had been deposited for us, until we saw that when Don Francisco de Montejo went to Castile into the presence of His Majesty, he appointed him Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan, and gave him the Indians he held in Mexico, and bestowed other favours on him ; and to Diego de Ordás, who also went before His Majesty, he gave an Encomienda of Señor Santiago and the Indians he held in New Spain ; and that Don Pedro de Alvarado, who also went to kiss the feet of His Majesty, was appointed Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala and Chiapa, and Comendador of Santiago, and was given further grants of the Indians ; and at last when Cortés went he gave him the Marquisate

and [made him] Captain General of the South Sea. Then, as soon as we Conquistadores saw and understood that for those who did not appear before His Majesty there was no thought of making grants, we sent to beg that he would order any [Indians] who from that time onward should be unallotted, to be given to us in perpetuity. The justice of our claim was recognised when the first Royal Audiencia was sent to Mexico, with Nuño de Guzman as president, and the Licentiate Delgadillo a native of Granada, and Matienzo of Bicaya, as Oidores, and two other Oidores, who died as soon as they arrived in Mexico. For His Majesty then distinctly ordered Nuño de Guzman to treat all the Indians of New Spain as one body, to the end that all the persons who held large Assignments which Cortés had given them should no longer hold so large [a number] but that some should be taken from them, and that we the true Conquistadores should be given the best and most profitable pueblos, and that for the Royal patrimony there should be reserved the chief towns and best cities. His Majesty also ordered that the Vassals of Cortés should be counted and he should retain those which were within the terms of his Marquisate, and as to the remainder, I do not remember what Nuño de Guzman ordered about it, or the reason why he and the Oidores did not make the Assignment, [but] it was on account of evil advisers, and for their honours sake I will not name them here. For they told him that, should he divide up the land, as soon as the Conquistadores and settlers found themselves possessing Indians in perpetuity, they would not hold them [the Audiencia] in such great respect, nor would they [the Audiencia] be such Lords [have such authority] to give them orders, because they would not possess [the power] to give and to take away, nor would they [the settlers] come to them to beg for something to eat. By [following]

the other course they would have [power] to give of what was vacant [i.e., Indians who were unallotted] to whomsoever they wished, and they [themselves] would become rich and would have the greater authority, and to this end they stopped doing anything.

It is true that Nuño de Guzman [and the Oidores], when there were any Indians unallotted, promptly handed them over to Conquistadores and settlers, and were not so bad in what they did for the settlers and inhabitants, for they contented them all and gave them food, and if they [the Oidores] were dismissed from out of the Royal Audiencia it was on account of the disputes which they had with Cortés and on account of the branding of free Indians for slaves.

I want to leave this chapter and go on to another and will speak about the perpetual Assignment.

CHAPTER CCXI.

How in the year IVVI [1550] when the Court was at Valladolid there met together in the Royal Council of the Indies certain prelates and gentlemen who came from New Spain and Peru as Proctors, and other noblemen who were present, in order to give the order that the Assignment [of Indians or pueblos] should be in perpetuity, and what was said and done at the meeting is what I shall relate.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty the Licentiate de la Gasca came from Peru and went to the Court, which at that time was in Valladolid, and brought in his company a certain Dominican Friar named Don Fray Martin, the Superior, and at that time His Majesty ordered this same Superior to be appointed to the Bishopric of Las Charcas.[1]

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[1] There is a blank space in the original. The name of the first Bishop of Charcas was Don Fray Tomas de San Martin, of the order of Santo Domingo.—G. G.

Then there came together in [the Court Don] Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, and Don Vasco de [Quiroga, bishop of Michoacan], and other gentlemen who came [as Proctors from New Spain and from Peru], and certain noblemen who came with lawsuits [to bring] before His Majesty. At that time all these were present at Court, and together with them they sent to summon me from New Spain as the oldest Conquistador.

As de la Gasca and all the other Peruvians had brought many thousands of pesos de oro both for His Majesty and for themselves, they sent what they had brought for His Majesty from Seville to Augusta in Germany, where His Majesty was staying at that time, and in his royal Company was his beloved and cherished son our most felicitous and invincible Don Felipe, King of the Spains and our Lord, may God preserve him.

At that time certain gentlemen went in charge of the gold and as Proctors from Peru to beg His Majesty to be pleased to do us the favour of ordering an assignment [of pueblos] to be made in perpetuity.

It appears that this petition had been made at other times, before this, on behalf of New Spain, when one Gonzalo López went, and a certain Alonzo Villanueva went with other gentlemen as proctors from Mexico. On that occasion His Majesty conferred the Bishopric of Palencia on the Licentiate de la Gasca, who was Bishop and Conde de Pernia, for it was his luck that when he arrived in Castile it had become vacant, and it was the gossip of the Court that even in this he had the good fortune I have mentioned, besides what he had in leaving Peru at peace and in recovering the gold and silver which the Coutreras had robbed him of. To go back to my story of what His Majesty decreed about the Assignment in perpetuity of the Indians. He instructed the Marquis de Mondejar, who was President of the Royal Council of

the Indies, and the Licentiate Gutierrez Velásquez and the Licentiate Tello de Sandoval and Doctor Hernan Pérez de la Fuente and the Licentiate Gregorio López and Doctor Rivadeneyra and the Licentiate Birviesca, who were Oidores of this same Royal Council of the Indies, and other gentlemen of the Royal Councils, all to meet together and consider and discuss how and in what manner the Assignment might be made, in such a way that in every respect the service of God and the Royal Patrimony should be carefully considered and in no wise prejudiced. When all those Prelates and gentlemen were met together in the house of Pero González de Leon, where the Royal Council of the Indies was held, what was said and discussed in that most illustrious Meeting [was] that the Indians should be given in perpetuity in New Spain and in Peru (I do not remember clearly whether the New Kingdom of Granada and Bobotan was named, but it seems to me that it also was included with the rest) and the reasons propounded in that affair were holy and good. The first to be discussed was that, being [assigned] in perpetuity, they would be much better treated and instructed in our Holy Faith, and that if some should fall ill they would be attended to like sons and be excused from a part of their tribute, and that owners would persevere much more in bringing the land into cultivation and [planting] vineyards and sowing seeds and raising cattle, and lawsuits and disputes about Indians would cease, and there would be no need for visiting judges in the pueblos, and there would be peace and concord among the soldiers with the knowledge that Presidents and Governors no longer had power when Indians were unassigned to allot them through nepotism, nor in other ways in which they allotted them at that time.

Moreover, the granting them in perpetuity to those who have served His Majesty was a relief to his royal

conscience, and many other good reasons were expressed. Furthermore it was mentioned that it had become necessary in Peru to get rid of those robber men who were found to have disserved His Majesty.

After what I have mentioned had been fully discussed by all those at this Illustrious Meeting, most of the proctors and the other gentlemen gave our opinions and votes that the assignments should be perpetual. But just then most contrary opinions were advanced. The first of these was by the Bishop of Chiapa, and he was supported by his companion Fray Rodrigo of the order of Santo Domingo, also by the Licentiate Gasca who was Bishop of Palencia, and Conde de Pernia, and Bishop Fray Don Martin[1] (for by that time they had given him the Bishopric of Las Charcas,) and by the Marquis de Mondejar, and two Oidores of the Royal Council of His Majesty. What those gentlemen named by me put forward in opposition (except the Marquis de Mondejar who did not wish to show partiality on one side or the other but to observe what they said and who had the most votes) was, how could they [bring themselves] to give Indians in perpetuity or in any other way, on the contrary they ought not to be given but to be taken from those who at that time held them, for there were people among them in Peru drawing a good rent from Indians who deserved to be chopped into pieces, and now as a climax they are to get them in perpetuity, how could they imagine in Peru that peace could be found and the country settled? There would be soldiers who when they saw that there was nothing [more] to be given them would revolt, and there would be even greater discords. Then Don Vasco de Quirova Bishop of Michoacan, who was on our side,

[1] Here again the author leaves a blank space; it must refer, as we point out in a former note, to the Dominican Don Fray Tomás de San Martin.—G. G.

replied and asked the Licentiate de la Gasca why he did not punish the bandits and traitors? for he knew them, and their offences were notorious, yet he himself had given them Indians.

To this de la Gasca answered, and he paused to laugh, and said, will the Señores believe that I performed no small feat in emerging in peace and in safety from among them—some of them I quartered and I executed justice.

Other opinions on the same subject were exchanged and then we and many of the gentlemen who were there present with us said, that they should be given in perpetuity in New Spain to the true Conquistadores who went over with Cortés, and to the followers of Panfilo de Narvaez and those of Garay, for very few of us remained; all the rest had died in the battles fighting in the service of His Majesty, and we had served him very faithfully, and that with the others there could be other arrangements. When we made these statements on our part and took the course which I have mentioned, there were not wanting prelates and lords of His Majesty's Council who said that all should be postponed until Our Lords the Emperor and the Prince, who were daily expected, should come to Castile, so that in a matter of such weight and importance they should be present.

Nevertheless, by the Bishop of Michoacan and certain gentlemen who were from New Spain, and I with them, answer was repeatedly made that, as the votes were already given to that effect, [the Assignments] should be given in perpetuity in New Spain, and that the Proctors from Peru should solicit on their own account, for His Most Christian Majesty had sent a command, and in his royal command showed inclination towards giving them in perpetuity in New Spain. About that matter there was much discussion and argument, and we said that

even if they should not be given in Peru, they should consider the many and great services which we had rendered to His Majesty and all Christendom. However we availed nothing with the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies, and the Bishop Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Fray Rodrigo his companion, and with the Bishop of Las Charcas, Don Fray Martin[1] and they said that as soon as His Majesty came from Augusta it would be adjusted in such a way that the Conquistadores would be very contented, and thus it remained pending.

I will leave this discussion and [say] that we wrote post haste by a ship [going] to New Spain, and when the matters related above, which took place at Court, were known in the City of Mexico, the Conquistadores arranged to send Proctors to His Majesty on their own account alone. Captain Andrés de Tápia and one Pedro Moreno Medrano even wrote to me from Mexico to this city of Guatemala, and Juan de Linpias Carvajal, the deaf, from Puebla—for at that time I had already returned from the court—and what they wrote to me was to give an account and report of the Conquistadores whom they were sending with their power of attorney. In the memorial they included me as one of the oldest of them. I showed the letters in the City of Guatemala to other Conquistadores so that they could help with money to send the Proctors, for it appears their despatch could not be managed for want of pesos de oro. What they next arranged in Mexico was that the Conquistadores together with the whole community should send Proctors to Castile, but such an excellent thing was never effected, and in this manner we proceed, like a lame mule, from bad to worse, and from one Viceroy to another and from Governor to Governor. After this our invincible Lord and King Don Felipe, may God

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[1] There is a blank space in the original. See the former note.

guard him, and may he live many years with increase of more kingdoms, commanded, in his Royal Ordinances and Decrees which he has issued for that purpose, that as to the Conquistadores and their children, we are to experience improvement in every sense, and next [in order] that the old married settlers [were to benefit] as will be seen in his Royal Edicts.

CHAPTER CCXII.

About other discussions and stories which are here made known and will be pleasant to hear.[1]

WHEN I had finished the fair copy of this my story, two Licentiates begged me to lend it to them for two days so as to know more clearly what we went through during the conquest of Mexico and New Spain, and to see in what way it differed from what the Chroniclers Gomara and Doctor Yllescas had written about the heroic deeds and exploits we accomplished in company with the valiant Marquis Cortés. So I lent them a rough draft, for it seems to me that wise men always [try to] impress a bit of their wisdom on unlearned fools such as I am, and I told them not to alter a single thing,[2] for all that I write is quite true. When they had seen and read it, one of them who was very eloquent and had a very good opinion of himself, after extolling and praising the good memory I must have not to forget any item of all we went through from the time we came to New Spain in the year seventeen [1517] up to that of sixty-eight [1568], said that, as to the style, it followed the customary speech of Old Castile, and that in these times it is accounted the more agreeable because

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[1] See note at end of Chapter.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "neither to add or to subtract."

there are no elaborate arguments nor gilded elegance such as some writers are wont [to display], but all is in plain simple language, and that all really good narration is comprised in this true statement. However, it seemed to him that I praised myself greatly in the accounts of battles and wars in which I was present and the services which I did to His Majesty, and that other persons should make those statements and not I; also that in order to give greater credibility to what I write I should cite witnesses, as the chroniclers are accustomed to insert and quote proofs from other books dealing with past events, for I am not a witness for myself. To this one can answer, [as is done in] a chapter of my story, that in a letter which the Marques del Valle wrote to His Majesty in the year forty, giving him a report of my person and services, he informed him how I came to explore New Spain on two occasions before he did, and how on the third time I returned in his company; and as an eye-witness he saw me fight in the wars like a very brave soldier, and come out of them very badly wounded, as well in the capture of Mexico as in many other conquests; and after we had won New Spain and its provinces how I went in his company to Honduras and the Hibueras (for so it is called in this country), and other particulars which were contained in the letter which, as it is a long story, I will not repeat here. So also Don Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain (of praiseworthy memory for his many virtues), wrote to His Majesty giving him a report of what had been told to him by the Captains in whose company I served as a soldier; and it all tallied with what the Marquis had written. Moreover there were the very sufficient proofs which were presented on my behalf to the Royal Council of the Indies in the year forty, and I offer these letters as evidence—two of them were placed before His Majesty and the originals are preserved. If the Marquis and the Viceroy and the

Captains and my proofs are not good enough witnesses, I wish to call another witness, and there is no better one in the whole world, that is our very great Monarch the most Christian Emperor Don Carlos, our Lord of most renowned and glorious memory, who about this matter sent his letters with the [Royal] Seal, in which he ordered the Viceroys, presidents, and governors to give me preference and advantage in everything as one of his servants. Other recommendations were contained in the Royal Letters, and for this reason I intended to include them in this story, and I wish they were preserved in my own hands.

To return to the question which the Licentiate to whom I had lent my rough draft addressed to me, "Why did I praise myself so much for my conquests?" To this I reply that there are matters about which it is not well that men should brag, for their neighbours generally report the virtues and good qualities which individuals possess. Moreover I say of those who neither know nor see nor understand nor are present in them, especially in such affairs as wars and battles and the capture of cities, how can they praise or write about them unless they be Captains and soldiers who were present in such wars together with us. For this reason I am able to state so often, and even to boast of it, that, if I were to rob other valiant soldiers who were present in these same wars of their honour and rank and attribute them to myself, it would be an evil deed and there would be cause to blame me; but if I tell the truth (and His Majesty and his Viceroy, the Marquis, witnesses, and evidence attest it, and moreover the story gives evidence of it) why should I not say so? for it ought to be written in letters of gold. Would they wish the clouds or the birds which passed above at the time to report it? and did Gomara wish to state it, or Yllescas, or Cortés when he wrote to His Majesty? From what I have seen of these writings and of

their Chronicles, [they wrote] solely in praise of Cortés, and they were silent about and concealed our illustrious and famous exploits by which we raised the Captain himself to a Marquisate, and to the possession of a great revenue and the fame and renown which is his.

These writers are the same who were not present in New Spain and, not hearing a true account, how can they write it down without going wrong only from the flavour of their palates—unless it were through the conversations they held with the Marquis himself? This I assert that when in the beginning Cortés wrote to His Majesty, instead of ink, pearls and gold flowed from his pen, and all in his own praise and not about us valiant soldiers. Let those who wish to see it observe to whom their histories were dedicated, if not to his son and heir to the Marquisate. Although Don Hernando Cortés was in all things a very valiant and spirited Captain, and may be counted among the most famous the world has seen, the chroniclers of these times should have had the consideration to introduce us, and make a report in their histories about our brave soldiers and not leave us entirely ignored, as we should have remained if I had not taken a hand in recording and assigning to each one his [share of] honour and glory, and, if I had not stated exactly what happened, persons who saw what the Chroniclers Yllescas and Gomara had written would believe that their version was the truth.[1]

In addition to what I have recorded it is right that I should again in this place make a statement to ensure noteworthy remembrance of my person, and of the many and distinguished services which I have rendered to God and His Majesty and to all Christendom, in the manner

[1] Blotted out in the original: "just as they wrote it, they being very eloquent."

of the writings and reports of the Dukes, Marquises, Counts and illustrious men who served in wars [in time past]; also in order that my children, grandchildren and descendants can dare to say with truth "my father came to discover and conquer these lands at his own expense and expended what property he possessed in doing it, and was one of the foremost in the conquest." Furthermore I wish here to advance another argument to prove that I do not praise myself as much as I ought, and it is that I was present in many more battles and warlike encounters than those in which the writers say Julius Cæsar was engaged, [that is] in fifty three battles, and to record his exploits he had consummate chroniclers, but he was not satisfied with what they wrote about him, so Julius Cæsar himself with his own hand made a record in his Commentaries of all the wars he was personally engaged in. Therefore it is not unreasonable that I should write down the heroic deeds of the brave Cortés and my own, and those of my comrades who were fighting in [our] company. Moreover I assert that of all those praised and extolled deeds which the Marquis himself accomplished, and of the seven heads of kings which he has on his coat of arms, and of the blazon and inscription which he placed on a cannon called the Phœnix, which was cast in Mexico to send to His Majesty, and was made of gold and silver and copper, and the words on it said

"Esta ave nació sin par Yo en serviros sin segundo Y Vos sin ygual en el mundo	This bird born without an equal, I second to none in serving you, Your Highness without equal in the world."

I am entitled to a share of the seven kings' heads, and of what is written on the culverin "I second to none in serving you," for I assisted him in all the conquests and

in winning that honour and glory which is well exemplified in his very valiant person.

Returning to my statement—when I said that I was present in more battles than Julius Cæsar, I again assert it, and interested readers may find and note in this my narrative in the chapters that treat about it, how and in what manner they took place. So that nothing should be concealed which is not stated and made manifest there, and so that it should be more clearly seen, I wish to quote them here as a record, so that it shall not be said that I speak with reserve about myself, for if so many of the Conquistadores had not witnessed them, and if they had not obtained so much fame in this New Spain, malicious slanderers [who are never wanting] might possibly have referred to me in regard to them as an obscure person.

Record of the Battles and Encounters in which I was Present.

At Cape Catoche when I came with Francisco Hernández de Córdova the first discoverer — in one battle.

In another battle in the affair of Chanpoton, when they killed fifty-seven of our soldiers and we all came out wounded, in company with the said Francisco Hernández de Córdova.

In another battle when we went to get water in Florida, in company with the said Francisco Hernández de Córdova.

In another when I was with Juan de Grijalva on the same errand in Chanpoton.

When the very valiant and courageous Captain Hernando Cortés came, in two battles—in the affair of

Tabasco with the said Cortés, the other in the affair of Cingapacinga with the said Cortés.

Also in three battles which we fought in the affair of Tlaxcala, under the said Cortés.

In the affair of Cholula when they wanted to kill us and eat our bodies—I do not count this as a battle.

Another when Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez came from the Island of Cuba with fourteen hundred soldiers, horsemen as well as musketeers and crossbowmen, and much artillery. They came to seize us and take the country in the name of Diego Velásquez, and with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers we defeated him and captured Narvaez himself and his Captains. I am one of the sixty soldiers whom Cortés ordered to attack and capture the artillery, which was a deed of the greatest danger, which is described in the chapter that treats of it.

Also in three very perilous battles which they fought against us in Mexico as we marched along the bridges and causeways, when we went to the aid of Pedro de Alvarado, and took to flight; for of the thirteen hundred soldiers, including the men of Pánfilo de Narvaez, who went with Cortés to the rescue, as I have already said, the greater number died at these same bridges, and were sacrificed and eaten by the Indians.

Another very hazardous battle which is called that of Otumba, with the said Cortés.

Another when we attacked Tepeaca, with the said Cortés.

Another when we went to scour the neighbourhood of Cachula.

Another with the said Cortés, when we went to Texcoco and the Mexicans and Texcocans came out to attack us.

Another when we went with Cortés to Iztapalapa, and they tried to drown us.

Three other battles when we went with Cortés to make a circuit of all the great pueblos round about the lake, and I was present at Xochimilco in three very perilous battles which I have mentioned, when the Mexicans pulled Cortés off of his horse and wounded him, and he was much exhausted.

Also two other battles at the rocky hills which are named after Cortés, when nine soldiers were killed and all came out of them wounded owing to Cortés's want of forethought.

Another when Cortés sent me with many soldiers to defend the corn fields which the Mexicans were taking from the pueblos friendly to us.

Besides all of these, when we invested Mexico and during the ninety-three days we besieged it, I was present in more than eighty battles, for a great multitude of Mexicans attacked us every day; we estimate that they [the combats] numbered eighty.

After the conquest of Mexico in company with Captain Luis Marin, I was present at two battles in the province of Cimatan, which is in the land of Coatzacoalcos; I came out of one of them with three wounds.

In the Sierras of the Zapotecs and Mijes, with Captain Luis Marin, I was present in two battles.

In the affair of Chiapa in two battles against the Chiapanecs with Luis Marin.

Another with Luis Marin in the affair of Chamula.

Another when we went to the Hibueras with Cortés—a battle we fought in a pueblo named Zulaco where they killed my horse.

After returning to New Spain from the expedition to Honduras and Hibueras, (for so it is called) I went to assist in bringing to peace the province of the Zapotecs and Mijes and other lands. I do not count the battles and skirmishes which we had with them, although it

would be well to mention them, nor the skirmishes at which I was present in this province of Guatemala, for they certainly are not warriors but only shout and yell and make a noise and dig pits[1] in very deep ravines; but notwithstanding all this they gave me an arrow wound at a ravine between Petapa and Joanagasapa,[2] for there they waited for us. In all these battles in which I have recorded that I was present, there were also present the valiant Captain Cortés and all his Captains and brave soldiers, and most of them died there. Others died in the affair of Panuco, at which I was not present, and at Colima and Zacatula. I was not present in the affair of Michoacan, [when] all those provinces were made peaceable, nor in the affair of Tututepeque, nor in that of Jalisco, which they call New Galicia, which also became peaceable; nor was I present in all the south coast, for we had plenty to do in other parts, for New Spain is so large that we soldiers were not able to go all together to one part or the other, but Cortés sent to conquer the districts that were at war.

So that it may be clearly understood when the greater number of Spaniards were killed, I will state it step by step. In the battles and skirmishes[3]: at Cape Catoche and in the affair of Chanpoton, when I came with Francisco Hernández the first discoverer, they killed fifty-eight soldiers in two battles, which was more than half of those who came.

In another battle in Florida, when we went to get water, they carried off one soldier alive, and we were all wounded.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "hidden."

[2] Cuajiniquilapa?

[3] Blotted out in the original: "when I was present."

In another when we went with Juan de Grijalva to this same Chanpoton, ten soldiers [were killed] and the Captain was badly wounded and his teeth were broken.

When we came with the very brave and spirited Captain Hernando Cortés, six or seven soldiers died in two battles in the affair of Tabasco.

In the three very hazardous and perilous battles we fought in Tlaxcala four soldiers died.

Again when Captain Narvaez came from the Island of Cuba with fourteen hundred soldiers, cavalry, musketeers, and crossbowmen, we defeated them and captured Narvaez and his Captains; with the artillery which Narvaez had posted against us, he killed four soldiers.

In three very hazardous battles which they fought against us in Mexico at the bridges and causeways, and in that of Otumba, when we went to rescue Pedro de Alvarado and we fled from Mexico, of the thirteen hundred soldiers, counting those of Narvaez who went with Cortés, after nine days fighting there remained alive only four hundred and sixty-eight, all the others died at the bridges and were sacrificed and eaten by the Indians, and nearly all the rest of us were wounded; may God have compassion [on us].

In another battle when we went with Cortés against Tepeaca they killed two soldiers.

In another, when we went to scour the neighbourhood of Cachula and Tecamachalco, two more Spaniards died.

In another, when we went with Cortés to Texcoco and the Mexicans and Texcocans sallied out to meet us, they killed one soldier.

In another, when we went with Cortés to Iztapalapa, and they tried to drown us, two or three died of their wounds, but I do not remember clearly how many they were.

In three other battles when we went with Cortés to

all the great pueblos round about the lake—and these battles were very dangerous, for the Mexicans pulled Cortés off of his horse and wounded him and he was very much exhausted (this was at Xochimilco)—eight Spaniards died.

In two other battles on the rocky hills named after Cortés, they killed nine soldiers and we all were wounded through the carelessness of Cortés.

In another, when Cortés sent me with many soldiers to defend the cornfields which the Mexicans were seizing, which [fields] belonged to our friends at Texcoco, one Spaniard died of his wounds within nine days.

Besides all this that I have recorded above when we invested Mexico during the ninety-three days of the siege, I was present in more than eighty battles, for every day from dawn until dusk we had against us a great host of Mexican warriors who attacked us, and of all the soldiers who were present in those battles there died sixty-three of the company of Cortés, nine in that of Pedro de Alvarado, six in that of Sandoval—we calculate that they fought eighty battles against us in ninety-three days.

After the Conquest of Mexico I was present in two battles in company with Captain Luis Marin in the province of Cimatan, which is in the land of Coatzacoalcos, in which three soldiers were killed.

In two other battles, in company with Luis Marin in the Sierras of the Zapotecs and Mijes, which are very lofty, and where there are no roads, they killed two soldiers.

In the Province of Chiapa, when in company with Luis Marin, in two very perilous battles with the Chiapanecs two soldiers were killed.

In another battle, when in company with Luis Marin, in the affair of Chamula, one soldier died of his wounds.

Again when we went to Hibueras and Honduras with Cortés, in a battle with a pueblo named Zulaco they killed one soldier.

I have already recounted [the names of] those who died in the battles at which I was present. I do not include the battles at Panuco because I was not present, but there is trustworthy report that they killed more than three hundred soldiers of the company of Garay, and others who had lately come from Castile, [including those] whom Cortés took with him to pacify that province, and those taken by Sandoval when the province again rose in rebellion.

I was not present at what we call the affair of Almeria, but I know for certain that they killed the Captain Juan de Escalante and seven soldiers. I also state that in the affairs of Colima, Zacatula, Michoacan, Jalisco and Tututepeque certain soldiers were killed.

I have forgotten to mention sixty-six soldiers and three Castilian women, whom the Mexicans killed in a pueblo named Tustepeque[1]; they stayed in that pueblo in the belief that they would be provided with food, for they belonged to the company of Narvaez and they were invalids. So that the names of the pueblos may be clearly understood one is Tustepeque . . . . north, and the other is Tututepeque on the south coast; so that it may not be argued that I make a mistake and give one pueblo two names. It will also now be said that there is great prolixity in what I write about, placing in one section the battles at which I was present, and then again reporting [the names of] those who died in each battle, which I might have given at the same time. Interested readers will also ask, how was I able to know [the names of] those who died in the battles which took

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[1] Tuxtepec.

place in each part [of the country]. To this I reply that it is very easily understood. Let us make a comparison. Let us say that a valiant Captain leaves Castile to make war on the Moors and Turks and fight battles against other enemies, and takes with him more than twenty thousand soldiers. When he has fixed his camp he sends off one Captain in one direction and another in another direction and goes with them as Commander, and after the battles and skirmishes he returns with his men to camp, then they render an account [to him] of those who were wounded or died in the battle or were taken prisoners. So we that accompanied the valiant Cortés into battle knew who had fallen and who had returned wounded, and in a like manner about the others who were sent to other provinces, and thus it is no great thing that I have a remembrance of all that I have stated, and write it so clearly. Let us leave this part.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo.
[rúbrica.][1]

This history was finished in Guatemala on the 14th November, 1605.[2]

NOTE TO CHAPTER CCXII.

The following rough draft of this Chapter is added to the original.—G. G.

Chapter CCXII.

About other discussions and stories which are here made known and will be pleasant to hear.

When I had finished the fair copy of this my story, two Licentiates begged me to lend it to them, so as to know more completely what happened in the Conquest of Mexico and New Spain, and to see in

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[1] Rúbrica = the flourish which is an essential part of a Spanish signature.

[2] One can read the same statement written in modern script a little lower down.

what [points] the writings of the Chroniclers Francisco López de Gomara and Doctor Yllescas on the heroic exploits achieved by the Marquis del Valle differs from what I write in this narrative. So I lent it to them, for it seems to me that some of the sense of wise men may adhere to unlearned fools such as I am. I told them not to touch, in way of emendation, anything about the conquests, nor to add or delete, for all that I write is quite true. When the two Licentiates to whom I lent it had seen and read it, one of them, who was very eloquent, and has a very good opinion of himself, after extolling and praising the good memory I must have not to forget a single item of all we went through from the time when we twice came to discover before Cortés came, and the last time when I came with Cortés himself. (The first time was in the year seventeen [1517] with Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and in the year eighteen with one Juan de Grijalva already often mentioned by me, and in the year nineteen I came with the good Captain Hernando Cortés who afterwards as time went on became Marques del Valle.)

To return to my story, the Licentiates told me that, as to the style, it followed the customary speech of Old Castile which in these times is accounted the more agreeable because there were no flowery arguments nor ornamental phrases such as the Chroniclers who have written of wars and battles are wont to employ, but all is written in a straightforward way and by speaking truthfully the best arguments are included. Moreover they also told me that it appears to them that I praise myself a great deal [when speaking] of the battles and warlike skirmishes at which I was present, and about the great services I have rendered to his Majesty, and that other persons ought to say that and write about it first, and not I.

Also that in order to give more credit to what I have stated I should cite witnesses and quote the accounts of such Chroniclers as may have written about it, as those who write and prove by other books about past events are accustomed to insert and quote, and not to say so curtly as I do, "I did this," and "such a thing happened to me," for I am not a witness for myself. To this I answered and now repeat [what I said] in the first Chapter of my Narrative, that in a letter which the Marques del Valle wrote from the great city of Mexico to His Majesty in Castile in the year fifteen hundred and forty giving him an account of my person and my services, he told him how I came to explore New Spain twice before he did, and the third time returned in his company, and as an eye-witness he very often saw me fighting in the Mexican wars, and at the capture of other cities, like a brave soldier doing many notable deeds, and often coming out of the battles badly wounded, and how I went in his company to Honduras and Hibueras (for so they call it in this country),

and other things were contained in the letter which to avoid prolixity I will not quote here.

In the same way the Most Illustrious Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza wrote to His Majesty reporting to him what he had been told by the Captains in whose company I had at that time served as a soldier, and it agreed with all that the Marques del Valle had written. Moreover very sufficient proofs were presented on my behalf in the Royal Council of the Indies in the year five hundred and forty [1540]. So the Señores Licenciados can see whether the Marques del Valle and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and my proofs are sufficient evidence. If this is not enough I wish to call another witness, and there is none better in the world, which is the Most Christian Emperor our Lord of Glorious Memory, Don Carlos the fifth, who by his Royal letter, closed and sealed with his Royal Seal, orders the Viceroys and Presidents to have respect for the many good and loyal services which it is clear to him that I have rendered, that I and my children should have preference and advantage; which said Royal letter he sent to me, and I have all the originals of these letters preserved, and the copies remain at the Court in the archive of the Secretary Ochoa Luyando. I say this as an excuse and a witness of what the Licentiates represent to me.

To return to my argument, by chance the Chronicler Francisco de Gomara wished [so] to write it, [but neither he] nor the Doctor Yllescas in what they wrote about the heroic deeds of . . . . . we should remain unmentioned if I had not told this true story. As to what they say that I praise myself too much and that others should do that, I answer there are occasions when certain neighbours are wont to praise the virtues and goodness of others and not their own, but for one who is not present in a war, and does not see it or understand it, how is he able to do it? Are the clouds to utter praise or the birds that flew over us when we were fighting our battles? Only the Captains and soldiers who were present [could do so.] If in my story I had taken the honour and glory from some of the valiant Captains and brave soldiers who were my companions and were present at the Conquest and given it to myself, it [the allegation] would be right, and would take away my standing ground, but I have not even praised myself as well as I ought.

The Marquis Cortés says, and an inscription which he placed on the Culverin of the bird Phœnix, which was a cannon cast in Mexico of gold, silver and copper, which we sent to His Majesty: the letters of the inscription said

Esta ave nasció sin par Y yo en serviros sin segundo Y Vos sin igual en el Mundo.	This bird born without an equal, I second to none in serving you, Your Highness without equal in the world.

I am clearly able to say that I am entitled to part in this praise and inscription, for I helped Cortés to accomplish those loyal services. In addition to this, when Cortés went the first time to Castile to kiss the royal feet of His Majesty, he reported to him that he had such valiant and brave Captains and comrades that he believed none more spirited had been heard of in past history than those with whom he conquered New Spain and the great City of Mexico. I am also entitled to a share of this praise. When he went to serve His Majesty in the affair of Algiers, and certain things happened about striking camp on account to the great tempests which occurred, it is said that he spoke many praises of his valiant companions. So I also claim a share of that.

It is for this reason I write and wish to place here a comparison, although it is a comparison between a very distinguished man and a soldier like myself. I assert that I was present in New Spain fighting in more battles than the great Emperor Julius Cæsar was present in, and his historians say of him that he was very ready with his arms and very valiant in giving battle—and when he had time he wrote down his heroic exploits, for although he had many and great chroniclers he was not satisfied with these, so himself wrote them with his own hand. It is not unreasonable that now in this story I mention the battles myself, for I was present at all the battles in which the Marquis Cortés took part, and many others, when he sent me with other Captains to conquer other provinces and cities, which will be found noted in this my chronicle and narrative, when and where, and in what provinces I was fighting, and at what times. Moreover I say that if [in addition to] all the praises and eulogy which Francisco de Gomara and Doctor Yllescas repeat in their books, they wish for further evidence, let them look at New Spain which is four times as large as our Castile! and let them observe the many cities and towns that are inhabited and . . . . . .

CHAPTER CCXIII.

Why many Indian men and women were branded as slaves in New Spain, and the story I tell about it.

CERTAIN monks have asked me to tell them and explain why so many Indian men and women were branded for slaves throughout New Spain, and whether we branded them without reporting it to His Majesty. To this I replied, and repeat it now, that His Majesty sent twice

to order it, and, that this may be clearly understood, interested readers should know that this was the way of it:—Diego Velásquez, Governor of the Island of Cuba, sent a fleet against us, and as Captain of it one Pánfilo de Narvaez, who brought with him thirteen hundred soldiers, among them ninety horsemen, and ninety small cannon (they were called Espingardas at that time), and eighty crossbowmen. He came to capture us and take the country for Diego Velásquez, as I have already stated in my narrative in the chapter that treats of it, and it is necessary that I should now refer to it again so that it may be clearly understood.

To go back to my subject: as soon as our Captain and all of us soldiers knew how Narvaez came in a fury, and about the insolent speeches he was uttering against us, we decided to set out from Mexico and meet him with two hundred and sixty soldiers, and endeavour to defeat him before he could capture us. And because at that time we held the great Montezuma, the Lord of Mexico, prisoner, we left him in charge of a Captain often mentioned by me before, named Pedro de Alvarado, and we left in his company eighty soldiers, for it seemed to us that some of them were suspected of not being willing to help us, as they had been friends of Diego Velásquez, and would be hostile to us.

While we were going against Narvaez the City of Mexico and its subjects rose in revolt, and I wish to recount the cause and reason given by the great Montezuma why they rebelled, and what he said was true. It appears the Mexicans were accustomed at that time to hold a great festival to [in honour of] their Idols called Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, with rejoicings and dances, and to come out with their treasures of jewels and gold and plumes. The great Montezuma asked permission of Pedro de Alvarado, and he gave it with evidence of

goodwill, but as soon as he saw that nearly all the Caciques of that city were dancing, and other chieftains who had come from other parts to see the dances, Pedro de Alvarado came out suddenly from his quarters with all his eighty well-armed soldiers, and fell on the Caciques who were dancing in the principal court of the great Cue, and killed and wounded some of them [although] they had asked his permission to dance. As soon as the great Montezuma and his chieftains saw this, they were very greatly angered at such a breach of faith, and at once at that very moment[1] they attacked him [Pedro de Alvarado].

The first day they killed eight of his soldiers and wounded nearly all the rest, and burned their quarters, and surrounded him in such a way that he found himself in great straits. They certainly would have succeeded in killing them [all] if they had pressed the attack one day longer. At that moment the great Montezuma commanded his chieftains and Captains to cease the attack, because at that time Pedro de Alvarado threatened to kill Montezuma there where he was in prison, if the attack were continued. Moreover they stopped the attack because his [Montezuma's] spies and chieftains (whom he always sent after us, from the time we left Mexico to go against Narvaez, to ascertain how things turned out) came post haste to tell him how we had defeated him [Narvaez], which he and all his chieftains considered to be most important, for they looked upon it as certain that as we who were with Cortés were few in number, and the followers of Narvaez four times as numerous as we were, they would take us prisoners as scoundrels.

To return to my story: I will state that after we had

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "they rose in rebellion in Mexico."

captured Narvaez we returned to Mexico to rescue Alvarado, and Cortés knew that the great Montezuma had asked permission of Pedro de Alvarado to hold that display[1] and festival; and as soon as he saw that . . . . he reprimanded him very severely with very sharp words, and a Captain named Alonzo de Ávila often mentioned by me, who was on bad terms with Pedro de Alvarado, also told him that there would remain in New Spain an evil memory of having done such an unjust deed. To this Pedro de Alvarado made the excuse, taking his oath to it, that he knew for certain from three priests and Caciques,[2] and from other Caciques who were in the company of the great Montezuma, that the festival they were celebrating to their Huichilobos, who was the God of War, was in order that he might give them victory against him and his soldiers and free Montezuma from prison, and afterwards they would make war on those who were coming with Narvaez and those belonging to Cortés who might still be living, and as he [Alvarado] knew for certain that they were going to attack him the next day he got ahead by attacking them first, so that they should be cowed and have to attend to the wounds inflicted on them.

I want to get back to my story: when we came to know how they had him hemmed in and [reduced him to] such straits, we decided to go in haste and rescue him, and we made friendship between the followers of Cortés and those of Narvaez, and went to his [Alvarado's] rescue with more than thirteen hundred soldiers, ninety horsemen and more than a hundred gunners and ninety crossbowmen, and nearly all those I now mention were of the company of Narvaez, for we of Cortés's company did not number more than three hundred and fifty; and

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[1] Areyte.

Blotted out in the original: "whom they captured when ."

it must be remembered that the eighty with Pedro de Alvarado are included in the count. There were also with us two thousand friendly Tlaxcalans, and with this force we entered Mexico with Cortés, who was greatly elated with his victory over Narvaez.

The day after we arrived the Mexicans made so many attacks . . . . on us and wars, that of the thirteen hundred soldiers who came in [with us], within eight days they had killed, sacrificed and eaten over eight hundred and sixty-two Spaniards, both those who had come with Cortés and those whom Narvaez brought, and they also sacrificed and ate over a thousand Tlaxcalans. This took place in the city and on the causeways and bridges and in a pitched battle which in this country we call [the battle of] Otumba.

From that rout [only] four hundred and forty soldiers and twenty-two horses escaped, and if we had not taken to flight in the middle of the night we should all have been left there [dead]. We who escaped were [all] badly wounded, but, with the help of God who favoured us, we went to [seek] aid at Tlaxcala, which received us like good and loyal friends.

Within five months we got certain reinforcement of soldiers, which came in three vessels with Captains sent by Don Francisco de Garay from the Island of Jamaica to the Rio Panuco, to assist his fleet. Three months later we received other reinforcement from two other ships which came from Cuba, and in them came twenty and odd horses which Diego Velásquez sent for the use of his Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez, he thinking that he had already defeated and taken us prisoners. When we possessed the reinforcements and ships already mentioned, and with the gold saved in the flight from Mexico, Cortés decided, with the consent of all of us Captains and soldiers, that we should send a report of

all our conquests to the Royal Audiencia and Geronimite Friars who were the Governors in the Island of Santo Domingo. For this purpose we sent two ambassadors, persons of quality, named Captain Alonzo de Ávila and one Francisco Álvarez Chico, who was a man of business. We sent them to beg consideration of the reports already mentioned, and of the attacks made on us, and that they should grant us permission to make slaves of the Mexican Indians and natives of the pueblos who had risen in revolt and killed Spaniards[1] (and who after we had summoned them three times to make peace, would not come in, but [continued to] make war,) and to brand them in the face [with a mark] like this ℊ. What the Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars decreed about this was to grant us permission (subject to a warrant with certain chapters of the order which were to be obeyed) to brand slaves; and according to the directions laid down in the warrant slaves were branded in New Spain. In addition to this which I have stated, the Royal Audiencia and Geronimite Friars informed His Majesty, who was in Flanders, what had been done, and he approved of it, and the members of his Royal Council of the Indies sent another decree on the subject.

I wish here also to call to mind how within about a year we sent our Ambassadors from Mexico to Castile, and report was made to His Majesty how before we came to New Spain with Cortés, and also at that very time, the Indians and Caciques commonly held a number of Indian men and women as slaves, and sold them and traded with them as one trades with any merchandise, and Indian merchants went from place to place and from market to market selling them and bartering them for gold and cloths and cacao, and brought batches of fifteen

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and made war."

to twenty or more for sale[1] tied together with collars and ropes [in a] much worse [way] than the Portuguese bring the Negroes from Guinea. Our Ambassadors took proofs of good faith and credit for all this, and took certain Mexican Indians as witnesses, and with these preparations we sent to beg His Majesty that he would do us the favour to grant us permission to pay them as tribute, and to buy them by barter in the same way as the Indians bought and sold them, and His Majesty was pleased to grant it, and ordered honest and competent persons to be appointed to take charge of the iron with which the branding was done. After the royal decree which His Majesty had ordered about this had been brought to New Spain or Mexico, it was arranged, so that there should be no misunderstanding[2] about the branding, that an Alcalde and the senior Regidor and a Priest should have charge of the branding iron in each city or town, and that they should be persons of good repute. The iron which they then used for branding the slaves which they received in barter was like this ℊ.

I also wish to write down here, that it would have been more profitable . . . . . we should send to beg His Majesty to grant us favour, for if . . . . . as was most Christian, or the Lords who at that time directed the Council of the Indies could know what afterwards happened about it, and as in all that they decreed they desired to do right, His Majesty would never have given such permission nor would it have been agreed to by the Royal Council of the Indies, for certainly great frauds were perpetrated over the branding of the Indians.

Men are not always very just, on the contrary there

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "Some merchants more and others less."

[2] Scratched out in the original: "and that there should be exactitude."

are many of evil disposition, and at that time there came from Spain and from the Islands many poor Spaniards, greatly covetous and insatiable and ravenous to acquire riches and slaves, who took such measures that they branded the free.

So that this matter may be more clearly understood, at the time that Cortés was governing, before we went with him to the Hibueras, there was justice about the branding of slaves, for they were not branded without ascertaining quite clearly whether they were free [or not]. After we set out from Mexico and went with Cortés to Honduras (for so they call it in this country), and were delayed in going and returning to Mexico two years and three months while we were conquering those provinces and bringing them to peace, during the time we were absent there took place in New Spain so many injustices, and revolts, and scandals among those whom Cortés had left as his Lieutenant-Governors that they took no care whether Indians were branded with good or bad title, but only looked after their own parties and interests. The persons who then governed did not look to see whether those who at that time had charge of the branding were of evil repute and covetous, and they gave the office to their friends to make profit for themselves, and these branded many free Indians who were not slaves.

In addition to this there were other evils among the Caciques, who, in paying tribute to their encomenderos, took poor Indian boys and girls and orphans and gave them as slaves. So great was the disillusion that resulted from this that the first to break away from the branding for barter was the town of Coatzacoalcos, where at that time I was a settler, for when this happened more than a year had elapsed since we had returned to that town from the journey we had made with Cortés.[1]

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "to the Hibueras."

As the Senior Regidor and a person of trust, they had handed over the branding iron to me, and to a Curate of that town named Benito López, so that I should have charge of it. When we saw how the [natives of] the province were decreasing and the cunning which the Caciques and some encomenderos were practising to induce us to brand Indians as slaves (and they were not doing it very secretly), we broke the branding iron, without informing the Chief Alcalde or the Cabildo, and sent a messenger post haste to the President Don Sebastian Ramírez, then Bishop of Santo Domingo, who was a good President and an upright man of cleanly life, and informed him how we had broken the branding iron, and implored him, as a matter of sound counsel, at once to order distinctly that no more slaves should be branded in any part of New Spain. When he had seen our letters, he wrote to us to say that we had acted as very trustworthy servants of His Majesty and, sincerely thanking us, made offers to assist us.

In agreement with the Royal Audiencia he promptly ordered that no more Indians should be branded in any part of New Spain, nor in Jalisco, Tabasco, Yucatan or Guatemala, and this which he decreed was good and holy.

As there are men who do not possess that zeal which they ought to have for the service of God and of His Majesty, and who would not consider the wrong which was being done in branding free Indians as slaves, when they got to know in our town of Coatzacoalcos that I and my companion the Curate Benito López had broken the branding iron, they asked why we prevented them enjoying the favours which His Majesty had vouchsafed us, and they went on to say that we were bad citizens and did no benefits to the town[1] and that we ought to

[1] Blotted out in the original: "and commonwealth."

be stoned. We laughed at all they said and took no notice of it, and took pride in having done such a good deed. Then the same President, together with the Royal Audiencia, sent a commission to me and to the Curate already named by me, as Inspectors-General of two towns, namely Coatzacoalcos and Tabasco, and sent us instructions as to the manner of our inspections and how many pesos we were authorized to inflict [as fines] in the judgments we should give, which amounted to fifty thousand maravedis, and that we should refer crimes and murders and other atrocious acts to the said Royal Audiencia. They also sent us a commission to prepare a description of all the lands and pueblos of the two towns which we visited, as well as we were able, and to send them a copy of the judicial records and the description of the provinces and a report of all we had done. In reply he [the President?] stated that he was very well satisfied and that he would inform His Majesty of it [what we had done], so that he might grant us favours, and that if anything occurred to me he would report it, because he always had a strong desire to assist me. At that time His Majesty sent to summon him [the President, to Castile], and he went there.[1] When I was in Mexico as Proctor-Syndic of the town of Coatzacoalcos talking to him [the President] about the business of the conquest of New Spain, [going] from one subject to the other, he told me that before he became Bishop of Santo Domingo he had been Inquisitor in Seville.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "So when he arrived in Castile they gave him the bishopric of . . . Tuy, and he was President of the Royal Audiencia of Granada, and at that time the bishopric of Leon fell vacant and they promoted him, and then the bishopric of Cuenca was vacant, so that the mails met which brought him the Bulls of the bishoprics one with the other, and then they passed him on to the Royal Audiencia of Valladolid, and at that time and season our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to take him to His holy Glory."

I wish to leave this subject which has been very long and prolix, but in it can be seen the permission we had from His Majesty and the Lords of his Royal Council to brand slaves.

Let us leave this and I will speak of the Governors who ruled New Spain.[1]

CHAPTER CCXIV.

About the Governors who have been in New Spain up to the year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight.

THE first Captain and Governor was the valorous and good Captain Hernando Cortés, who as time went on became Marques del Valle and held other titles, and all three were well deserved. He governed very well and peaceably for more than three years, [and then he went to the] Hibueras and Cape of Honduras [and left behind as Governors] and lieutenants to carry on the Government the Treasurer Alonzo de [Estrada, a native] of Ciudad Real, in company with the Accountant Rodrigo de Albornoz . . . . or of Ramaga, and they ruled for a matter of three months. Then the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar, a native of Granada, in company with the Veedor Peralmirez Chirinos[2] of Ubeda, assumed the Government, and the way in which they ruled I have already described in the chapter which tells about it, and the scandals that arose in Mexico over the question whether or no they should govern ; they remained Governors for more than a year and a half.

When Cortés came to know about the strife that had

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[1] Immediately after this last line there is a note which says "this is not to be written below," it is the beginning of the following chapter.

[2] Scratched out in the original : "Native."

arisen in Mexico through their bad government, he sent from the province of Honduras to revoke the authority [he had given] them, and the Treasurer and Accountant returned to govern again, according to the authority which Cortés had left with them. Then these said Governors imprisoned the Factor and Veedor in some cages of stout beams, and within about a year and a half Cortés returned to Mexico from Honduras, and when he arrived he took over the Government himself.

Before fifteen days had passed, during which he was occupied over necessary matters[1] touching the past squabbles, at that moment there arrived from Castile as Governor, a certain Licentiate . . . . named Louis Ponce de Leon, a native of Córdova, who brought a commission to take the Residencia of Cortés and of the Captains and Magistrates who were in New Spain at the time. While he was taking the Residencia, he died of sleeping sickness, and left his powers, by will, to the Licentiate named Marcos de Aguilar, whom the said Luis Ponce had brought in his company when he came from the Island of Santo Domingo. Other persons whom Luis Ponce brought with him called him the Bachelor Aguilar, and the powers which he [Luis Ponce] left him by his will [stated] that he was to make no change whatever in the Government, and should not take away Indians from any Encomendero, nor should he release the Factor and Veedor from prison, but that they should remain prisoners in the way he had found them. Moreover he charged him at once to report the matter to His Majesty so that he could send and order what would be best for his service. In this way Marcos de Aguilar ruled more than ten months, and he died of consumption and from a boil

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "for the service of God and of His Majesty."

disease, and left authority by his will for the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada to assume the government. So the Treasurer governed for the third time, and when he was given the government, he arranged with the Proctors of New Spain, in order that he should exercise more authority in the Government, that he should rule, jointly with Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was Chief Alguazil and had been a Captain — a very distinguished person. Some persons said the Treasurer did this because he wished to marry his daughter to him [Sandoval]. When the two had been governing jointly about ten months, an order came from His Majesty that the Treasurer should govern alone, and they removed Sandoval from the Government. A royal Cedula also came [to the effect] that the Factor and Veedor should be released from prison and their property which had been sequestrated should be returned to them.

Within a few days His Majesty appointed a Royal Audiencia, and as President of it came one Nuño de Guzman, a native of Guadalajara, who was at that time Governor of the Province of [Panuco]. There also came as Oidores four Licentiates, named [Delgadillo, a native] of Granada, and Matienzo, whom they say came from the neighbourhood of Biscay, and a Licentiate [Parada] . . . . to be in the Island of Cuba, and one Maldonado of Salamanca (I do not speak of the Licentiate Maldonado the Good, for so we called him, who was Governor of Guatemala and Adelantado of Yucatan). To return to my story: when the Licentiates whom I have mentioned, who came as Oidores, arrived in Mexico, Parada and Maldonado died, and the Royal Audiencia held session with the President, whom I have already mentioned, and the two Oidores, for more than two years. Because His Majesty was informed that they did not do their duty, he distinctly ordered them to resign, and there promptly

came as President Don Sebastian Ramíres of Villa Escusa, who at that time was Bishop of the Island of Santo Domingo, and four Oidores named the Licentiate Salmeron, from Madrid, Alonzo Maldonado of Salamanca, and the Licentiate Ceynos of Zamora, and the Licentiate Bernaldo de Quirova of Madrigal, and they were very good and upright judges. After some years His Majesty sent for the President Don Sebastian Ramíres to give him information about the affairs of New Spain, and as soon as he arrived they gave him the Bishopric of Tuy, and appointed him President of the Royal Audiencia of Granada, and at that time the Bishopric of Leon became vacant, and they promoted him and transferred him to the Chancery of Valladolid Then the Bishopric of Cuenca became vacant, and it was given to him, and at that moment it pleased God to take him to His holy glory.

Let us speak now of the Licentiate Salmeron, who remained in New Spain, as Oidor, for more than four years, and became rich; he sent to ask leave to return to Castile, and after he had rendered his accounts with satisfaction, he departed and was appointed to the Royal Council of the Indies; and when he was old His Majesty ordered him to be pensioned. To the Licentiate Bernaldo de Quirova was given the Bishopric of Michoacan, and the Licentiate Maldonado because he was a very good and upright judge, came as President and Governor to this province of Guatemala and Honduras, and served His Majesty very efficiently in the offices he held.

I must go back to say that at this time,[1] His Majesty ordered Don Antonio de Mendoza, brother of the Marquis of Mondejar, to come as Viceroy and President of New

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "when the President Don Sebastian Ramíres arrived in Castile."

Spain, and [sent] as Oidores four Licentiates, named Tejada of Logroño, and an elderly Licentiate Loayza of Ciudad Real, and the Licentiate Santillan, a native of Seville, who was afterwards a Doctor, and the Doctor Quezada Ledesma, and a few days later came the Licentiate Mexia, a native of San Martin de Valde Yglesias, who was afterwards a Doctor, and the Doctor Herrera, said to be native of the neighbourhood of Guadalajara. I do not remember how long they remained as Oidores, for some went to Castile and some came and others remained—as it makes little difference to my story, I do not record it.

At that time there came as Inspector of the whole of New Spain, and as Guardian of the Royal Decrees, the Licentiate Tello de Sandoval, a native of Seville, and he took the Residencia of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, and of the Oidores, and found that they were upright judges, although he raised some punctilios and slight suspicions against the Viceroy. After he had finished the examination he returned to Castile to become an Oidor, and, a short time afterwards, President of the Royal Council of the Indies, and later on Bishop of Osuna or of[1]

Then there came to Mexico as Judge [of the Residencia] of Nuño de Guzman, and to make certain investigations into the . . . . Jalisco, a Licentiate named De la Torre, a native of Badajos, ... Licentiate as he came with great desire to do justice in the matters which he had [to investigate]; this was he in the sleeves of whose gown they placed the playing cards, as I have related in the chapter that treats of it, of the annoyance from which he died.

There also came from Castile at that time a Licentiate

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[1] A blank space is left here in the original.—G. G.

named Vena, who made the Viceroy and all the Royal Audiencia believe that His Majesty was sending him to take the Residencia of the Licentiate Tejada, and to remain as Inspector of New Spain. About this he practiced such frauds that the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia believed it, and one day they ordered him to take his seat together with them in the Law Court. When, however, they observed that he could show no commission, but only some fraudulent papers which he brought sealed up, which said on them and on their dockets "Titles and Decrees which His Majesty had given him as Inspector and to take the Residencia of Tejada," and they saw that all the enclosure was blank, and [thus] understood his frauds, they ordered him to be given two hundred lashes well laid on. In addition to this he had another way of cheating, in that certain persons who had lawsuits gave him money, and for all this they banished him from Mexico after he had been flogged.

At this time His Majesty ordered the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza to go to Peru and pacify that kingdom, which was disturbed, and when he arrived there and began to do justice, it pleased God to take him to His holy glory. Great grief was felt at his death, and there was much reason for it, for from what we could see, when he was Viceroy of New Spain, he governed very well, and is worthy of very meritorious regard for his many virtues.

There promptly came in his place, as Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, a native of Palencia of Tierra de Campos.[1] I never communicated with him except by letters which I wrote to him, which he answered, about

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "He had the reputation of being very just in all that he did."

a son of mine who lived in his house. It is said that he occupied the post of Viceroy and Governor for sixteen years, at the end of which he died.

A few months before God took him from this life, His Majesty had sent to Mexico a Licentiate or Doctor named[1] de Valderrama, a native of Talavera. It is said that he came as Inspector of New Spain, and, from what I have heard, after the death of the Viceroy Don Luis Velasco, he wished to be in supreme command, but the Señores Oidores of the Royal Audiencia would not consent to it, and reported it to His Majesty, who sent to order him back to Castile to be Oidor, as before, in the Royal Council of the Indies; and as soon as he arrived [in Castile] he died. Also about that time, or half a year earlier, the Licentiate Zaynos returned to Castile to be an Oidor [of the Royal Council] as he had been before of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

To return to my story: when it was known in Castile that Don Luis Velasco had died, His Majesty appointed as Viceroy and Governor a gentleman named Don Gaston de Peralta, Marques de Falces, Conde de Santistevan, and chief Mayordomo of His Majesty of the Kingdom of Navarre, who remained for a certain time in the City of Mexico. They say[2] he was amiable and had good manners, and during the time he remained in Mexico there did not occur so many disturbances[3] about the affairs of the Marquis Don Martin Cortés, and of one Alonzo de Ávila, and his brother named Gil Gonzáles de Benavides who were sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides the elder, and nephew of a Captain named Alonzo de

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[1] A blank space is left in the original. The Licentiate Valderrama was named Jerónimo, according to León Pinelo.—G. G.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "that he governed very well."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "as after His Majesty had sent to summon him to come to Castile to report to him."

Ávila, already often mentioned by me, who came among the first with Cortés to New Spain. Returning to my subject: these two nephews of his [Alonzo de Ávila] were those whom they beheaded, and much other justice was done over the disturbances and rebellions.

So that it should be more clearly understood who these were, it is as I now state:—The Captain Alonzo de Ávila, uncle of the two nephews on whom justice was executed, held entrusted to him under the Law of Assignment a good pueblo of Indians near Mexico, named Guautitlan, which the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés had given him; and when Alonzo de Ávila, to whom the pueblo first belonged, died, the Fiscal claimed it for His Majesty as being vacant and belonging to the Royal Crown, because Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, the brother of Alonzo de Ávila, had neither title nor charter of assignment of the pueblo, but exploited it on the strength of a Power of Attorney which his brother the Captain Alonzo de Ávila had given him. Moreover Gil Gonzáles de Ávila de Benavides, the father of those who were beheaded, was never a Conquistador of Mexico (when he came to Mexico New Spain was already conquered) except that he went in company with Cortés when we went to the Hibueras. However, as other persons know much more fully how to relate the dangers that arose in Mexico over this [than I do], it is better that I should not refer to what has been written on the subject. Moreover I live in the city of Santiago de Guatemala, where I am Regidor, and do not go to Mexico, nor have anything to do with Viceroys there, nor the Royal Audiencia, so we will not touch on these points.

Let us turn now to the Province of Jalisco. The first Captain who was [sent] there was called Nuño de Guzman . . . that province was subject to the Royal Audiencia of . . . . years, His Majesty ordered that there should be a

Royal Audiencia in it without .... things which were suitable, had supreme command ..... Now they have told me at this time that it is independent and with .... provinces, I have no further news of them, of what I here state .... of Yucatan which is on the North Coast, that the first Captains named the Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo, and his son .... Montejo, natives of Salamanca, and he was for some years .... and in the year fifteen hundred and fifty His Majesty ordered that it [was to be subject] to Guatemala, and after it had been in the way I have said for four or five years, His Majesty ordered that it should return to be subject to Mexico.

At that time the Licentiate named Quijada, a native of Seville, who was afterwards a doctor, went to Castile, he used to be a settler in Guatemala, and held pueblos of Indians in assignment who gave him a revenue of seven hundred pesos, and through desire of being a Governor he begged His Majesty to grant him the Government of Yucatan, with the result that he left his Indians and they reverted to the authority of His Majesty. He held the Government [of Yucatan] for some years, and when his Residencia was taken it appears that as he had not governed as he should have done they deprived him of the Government; so that in his anxiety to hold rule he lost the Indians which he held for certain, and was condemned in costs, and went to Castile on this account and died there.

There came in his place as Governor of Yucatan one Luis de Cespedes, a native of Ciudad Real, who held the Government for four years, and, as I understand, he did not govern well and they dismissed him, and they say that he fled to Castile.

Let us leave the affairs of Yucatan, which from the beginning had gone from bad to worse through bad government, and turn to the Government of Guatemala.

The first Governor who was appointed was named Pedro de Alvarado, a native of Badajos, and in the year twenty-six [1526] he went to Castile to beg His Majesty to grant him the Government of these Kingdoms, and while he was gone he left as his lieutenant his brother, named Jorge de Alvarado, who at that time had married a daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada (and the Treasurer was at that time Governor of Mexico). Within about a year from the time he was governing Guatemala His Majesty sent the first Royal Audiencia that was appointed to Mexico (as I have noted and stated), and when they arrived in Mexico they sent to take [the Residencia] of Jorge de Alvarado, and he who came to take it was named Francisco Orduña, an old man, who was a native of Tordesillas. I do not know what took place in the Residencia except that they have told me that he ruled as a Governor [should rule]. Within three months of the time that Orduña was taking the Residencia, Don Pedro de Alvarado returned from Castile with the title of Governor, and he brought a Commandry of the order of Santiago. He came married to a lady named Doña Francisco de la Cueva, who died on arriving at Vera Cruz.

To return to my story: when the Adelantado arrived in Guatemala he at once in great haste fitted out a good fleet, with which he went to Peru, and while he was away he left his own brother Jorge de Alvarado as Lieutenant-Governor. After some years the Adelantado returned from Peru a very rich man; and about that time the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent again to take a Residencia, and, as judge of complaints, sent the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado, a native of Salamanca, who was an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico. It appears that concerning the Residencia and the things of which the Adelantado had been accused he found it necessary

to return to Castile [and to appear] before His Majesty, and as our Lord and King was most Christian, and had received reports of the services which he [the Adelantado] had rendered, he acquitted him of the complaints and claims payable to His Majesty which they had brought against him in the affairs in question.

At that time he [the Adelantado] married another lady, the sister of his first wife, named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva, and as the Duque de Alburquerque, Don Pedro de la Cueva, the Comendador Mayor de Alcántara and Don Alonzo de la Cueva, his wife's relations, supported him, His Majesty granted him the Government [of Guatemala], as before, for some years. When he came to Guatemala he prepared a very large fleet to go to the West, to China and the Spice Islands, all of which I have reported in the [chapter that treats of it] . . . . . fleets, and while he was away with the fleet he left as lieutenant Governor [Francisco de la Cue]va who was a Licentiate and a cousin of his wife, and I have even been told that . . . . . know something certain of the Government, if it was not with appearance and consent . . . . . Don Francisco Marroquin, and the Adelantado having already set out with thirteen ships and over six hundred soldiers, arrived with all his fleet at the province of Jalisco.

Just as he was ready to set sail and follow on his course, they brought letters to him, sent by a Captain named Cristóbal Doñate, to beg him with great entreaty and prayers, in the name of His Majesty, to come to his rescue, as he and his army of Spaniards were on the point of disaster at some pueblos or fortresses named Nochiztlan, and that both by day and night they [the Indians] wounded and killed many Spaniards and he could not hold out, and that he was in the greatest exigency and need, for if the Indians of Nochiztlan were victorious the whole of New Spain would run a risk.

As soon as Don Pedro de Alvarado heard and understood the news, which was beyond all question, he ordered his Captains and soldiers with all despatch to go with him to the rescue, and in great haste he went to the rocky hills, and with his help the attack which the Indians of that province were making on the Spaniards slackened somewhat, but not so much that it stopped them attacking with great valour, like brave warriors, and in spite of the assistance [rendered] the Spaniards were in great danger, for many of their soldiers were killed. Then, from the time their ill-fortune began, one disaster followed on another, for, while Don Pedro de Alvarado was fighting against the squadrons of Indian Warriors, it seems that while a soldier was fighting, a horse stumbled with him, and came rolling down the hill with great impetus to where the Adelantado was standing, so that he was not able to move aside at all, and the horse carried him down so that his body was mangled in such a way that he felt very ill from it. So as to take care of him and cure him they carried him away in a litter to a town named La Purificacion, which was the nearest to those rocky hills. As they went on their way he began to faint, and when they reached the town, after he had confessed and received the sacrament, he gave up his soul to God who created him. Some persons say that he made a will.[1]

When the Adelantado died the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent as Governor the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado, already mentioned by me, and about a year's time after this happened, His Majesty ordered a Royal Audiencia to come to this province of Guatemala, and the said Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado came as its President, and they settled in a town called

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "May God pardon him, Amen. To return to my story."

Gracias a Dios. Three Oidores came named the Licentiate Rogel de Olmedo, and the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones, a native of Leon, and Doctor Herrera of Toledo, and some time later His Majesty ordered the same Audiencia to move to this City of Santiago de Guatemala.

Because the Licentiate Alonzo de Maldonado had been for many years Oidor in Mexico and President in these provinces he felt it necessary to go and plead with His Majesty to grant him [the office] of Adelantado of Yucatan, and the pueblos of Indians which had belonged to his father-in-law, the Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo, who died at that time. He sent to beg His Majesty to give him leave to go to Castile, and leave was given him, on the condition that he should first undergo his Residencia, by which they established the fact that he was a very good Judge.

His Majesty sent as President in his place the Licentiate named Alonzo López Çerrato, a native of Estremadura, and as Oidores, the Licentiate Tomas López, a native of Tendilla, and the Licentiate Çorita of Granada, and as I have already stated the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones was already Oidor. When the President Çerrato had remained four years and was . . . . old, and a Churchman, he sent to beg . . . . was well instructed in the Royal Council . . . . another earnest prayer that he might . . . . on condition that he should undergo his Residencia, and to undertake it . . . . Quesada a native of Ledesma and being . . . . God was pleased to take him from this life and . . . . Doctor Quesada who was undertaking it, and there remained as President the Senior Oidor who was the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez.

A short time afterwards His Majesty ordered the Licentiate Juan Martinez de Landecho, a native of Biscay, to come as President. At that time or a few months

earlier the Licentiate Loaysa, a native of Talavera, came as Oidor, and at the same time the Doctor Antonio Mexia, a native of San Martin de Val de Yglesias, came as Oidor, who used to hold the same office in the Royal Audiencia of Mexico. Because Doctor Mexia and another Doctor named Herrera, who was also an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, had some differences of opinion or squabbles, in order to make peace between them, His Majesty ordered Doctor Mexia to come to this province as Oidor, and the Doctor [Herrera?] went to Castile. It appears that some time later His Majesty ordered Doctor Mexia's Residencia to be taken, and the President Landecho undertook it, and on account of certain charges which were brought against him he deprived him of the Royal office for some years. About this he [Mexia] went to Castile and was acquitted of the charges so clearly that they appointed him to another Royal office, as Corregidor of Talavera, and afterwards he was appointed President of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, when he died holding the office of President. In place of Doctor Mexia, Doctor Barros de Sanmillan, a native of Segovia, came as Oidor of this Royal Audiencia, and if he had had as much beard[1] as it was said he had learning it would have added dignity to his presence.

After the Licentiate Landecho had been President for a few years, His Majesty ordered the said Royal Audiencia which was established in this City of Santiago to move to Panama, because it is said information had been received that it would be more convenient there, and for other reasons which I could not clearly understand. In addition to this, His Majesty ordered the Residencia of the Licentiate Landecho to be taken, and of all the other Oidores who resided in it [the city], and

[1] An allusion to his youthful appearance.

if they were found to be culpable that they should be dismissed.

The Licentiate Francisco Briseño, a native of Corral de Almaguer, who had formerly been Oidor in the kingdom of New Granada, came by appointment to take the Residencia, and he brought a commission to take this Residencia and to transfer the Royal Seal to Panama, and to appoint the Oidor who should be least occupied, and whom he should consider best qualified, to take charge of it. He also brought a commission to examine the officers of the Royal Treasury, and of the property of defunct persons, and to bring to an end and conclude the lawsuits which had been begun by the late Royal Audiencia.

To go back to my story: He took the Residencia of the Licentiate Landecho, who was President, and of the Oidor the Licentiate Loayza, and of Doctor Barros, and after reviewing the charges and replies, he deprived the President Landecho and Loayza of Royal office for some years, and fined them a certain sum of money, but he acquitted Doctor Barros. On this account they had to go to Castile, and His Majesty ordered the Licentiate Landecho to go with the appointment of Oidor to Peru (I do not know about the other office he is said to have held), and when he reached Panama he died. The Licentiate Loayza came to this city as Oidor, and from here His Majesty sent him as Oidor to Chili. His Majesty appointed Doctor Barros to go with the Royal Seal to Panama, and to remain there as President of the Royal Audiencia, until he should order otherwise. The reason why he sent him with the Royal Seal was, because they found that he had the least official work to do.

After the Licentiate Briseño had sent off the Royal Seal (and he set out with the illustrious Cabildo of this

city and other gentlemen), he went to the town of Trinidad to decide certain boundaries and jurisdictions, and then he went to see some lands sown with wheat, which had been taken from certain pueblos, and he had them restored to their owners, and he visited the whole of his province, and this he did without taking payment from any place whatever. If one were to relate all the good he did during the time he was Governor it would be a long story, and I must be silent about it. Moreover, what to me . . . that he should have patience and with the merchants . . . he was a good Judge, but he obliterated it all with his . . . which appeared to him to be well said.

In the year fifteen hundred and sixty-six being . . . . the month of May, between one and two o'clock in the day, the ground began to shake in such a way that it lifted the houses and walls and even the roofs so that many of them fell to the ground, and others remained roofless lying over on one side, and we thought the earth would open and swallow us up. Although we all went out into the open we were not safe nor did we dare to sleep in our houses, but we set up our ranchos in the fields, and in the courtyards, and the plaza of this city. Much could be said about these violent earthquakes which lasted nine days, and the whole city with the clergy and the monks and all the ladies [set out] in great processions, most of us doing penance and praying to God for pity, and they set about making peace and friendship and other holy and pious work. It was wonderful to see how when we went in these pious processions groaning and weeping, with blood running down our backs, we were not able to advance nor keep on our feet, for as it was midnight the houses with tiled roofs fell with the great noise which the earth made when it shook, and the walls fell upon us, although we walked in the middle of the streets, and we

thought that our last days had come. With prayers, contrite confessions, and penances, which we made throughout this time, it pleased God that [when] we cast lots to many saints, and among them to Señor San Sebastian, to beg our Lord God's pity for us, that the lot fell to our advocate the fortunate martyr Saint Sebastian, and from this time the extreme earthquake began to slacken, and we promised to go every year in procession to a church which we built in the field of San Sebastian, and to celebrate his festival on the eve and day. Much could be said about these severe earthquakes and how there came suddenly a great flood of water which came out from a watercourse and threatened to swamp the city, and after that time we made a very good bridge.

Let us leave this talk, and speak of the rebellion and revolts which took place in Mexico City, at this time, over the affair of the Marquis Don Martin Cortés, and the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, whom they beheaded. As in this city we are very good and loyal vassals and servants of His Majesty, the illustrious Cabildo, together with all the other gentlemen, offered all our property and persons, if necessary, to go against those in rebellion, and we placed guards and ambushes and a goodly company of soldiers on the roads, so that if any of the enemies of His Majesty should happen to come there we might seize them. In addition to this we held a Royal camp muster to see and ascertain what musketeers and horsemen with all their arms there were; and certainly it was a wonderful thing to see the rich arms with which they turned out, and moreover the willingness which we all showed to go to Mexico if it was necessary, in the service of His Majesty, and it seems to me that this city is so loyal through nurturing the sons of the Conquistadores, who have inscribed on their breasts and hearts the loyalty they ought to bear to our Lord the King.

When we were already fully prepared, as I have stated, trustworthy letters came from Mexico [to say] that the two brothers named Alonzo de Ávila and Benavides had been beheaded, and that the others concerned in the rebellion had been banished and punished, and that everything was more or less safe, but not very peaceable. When the illustrious Cabildo of this city knew of this, although as Christians we grieved . . . . point our hearts were at rest . . . . few days there came to us other letters . . . . advice persons of quality . . . . how much and for what reason . . . . found them guilty, should be acquitted . . . . very upright justified Oidores . . . . to do justice to the Judges . . . . who was Oidor in Castile and . . . . punished certain men . . . . declared on his honour that he had . . . . service which he owed to His Majesty . . . . and was bound to it . . . . always endeavoured to be . . . . did not remain with a good reputation, may God remedy it, both the one and the other. These lawsuits took place in Castile, and they will know more about it there, than what I write.

I have delayed greatly in calling to mind what happened during the five years that the Licentiate Briseño governed this province. Let us leave it here and I will go on to tell of the governors of the province of Honduras sent by the Geronimite Friars who were Governors of the Island of Santo Domingo—and pray God they will never send such men [again]—for they were very bad and never did any justice at all; for besides illtreating the Indians of that province, they branded many of them as slaves, and sent them to be sold to Hispaniola and Cuba, and to the Island of San Juan de Baruquen.

These evil governors were named :—the first Fulano de Arbitez, and the second Cereceda, a native of Seville, and the third Diego Días de Herrera, who was also from Seville, and these three commenced the ruin of that

province, and what I here state I know, for when I came with Cortés on the expedition to Honduras I was present in Trujillo, which was called by the Indian name of Guaimura, and I was at Naco and the Rio de Pichin, and that of Balama, and that of Ulua, and in nearly all the pueblos of that neighbourhood, and it was thickly peopled and at peace [and the people were living] in their houses with their wives and children ; but as soon as those bad governors came they destroyed them to such an extent, that in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-one, when I passed through there on my return from Castile, two Caciques who had known me in the old days told me with tears in their eyes of all their misfortunes and the treatment [they had received], and I was shocked to see the country in such a condition.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty a gentleman named Juan Perez de Cabrera had been governor ; he died within two years, and he did neither good nor evil, and that province again became subject to Guatemala, and the Presidents and Governors of Guatemala did all they could to help and protect it. At that time there came as its governor a Licentiate named Alonzo Ortiz de Argueta, a native of Almendralejo, who governed for some years and left a good reputation at the Residencia which they took of him. Afterwards came another Governor, named Juan de Vargas Carvajal ; from what they say he did worse than his predecessors, and had he not died before they took his Residencia he would have come out of it very badly.

Let us turn to the province of Soconusco which lies between Guatemala and Oaxaca. I say that in the year twenty-five [1525] I was travelling through it for eight or ten days, and it used to be peopled by more than fifteen thousand inhabitants[1] and they had their houses

[1] Vecinos ; probably here meaning households.

and very good orchards of Cacao trees, and the whole province was a garden of Cacao trees, and was very pleasant, and now in the year [one thousand] five hundred and seventy-eight it is so desolate and abandoned that there are not more than twelve hundred inhabitants in it. They tell me that some died of a pestilence, and the others were allowed no rest by the principal Alcaldes, Corregidors, and Alguacils, and by the numerous clergy and Curas imposed on them by the prelates, and certainly there are too many, where the half would more than suffice.

Would that for my sins they were not as covetous as they are. On account of the trade in a kind of almond which is called Cacao, from which they make a sort of beverage which they drink and is very good, wholesome and strengthening, and as it is very good in that province, many traders go among the . . . . to buy it from them, and so the Curas, priests and alcaldes . . . . alguacils to this effect, nor do they give them any rest and it is . . . . so destroyed . . . . to the Lords who give orders in the Royal . . . . and as I was not present in the . . . . and every day they go from bad . . . . of the Governor . . . . Oñez de Villa Quixan a native . . . . punishment and stop the trade of . . . . the clergy and Alguacils did so . . . . said that it was he who . . . . wine and many other articles of merchandise at very high prices, and committed some atrocities and ill treatments which the Indians could not endure from them, because it was all the more demanded that he would secure justice for them. Thus when the Illustrious Marques de Falces etc. arrived in New Spain as Viceroy, he heard of what they said about that Pero Hernández who was the Governor, and he sent to take his Residencia, and while it was being taken he [Hernández] fled to where they could not quickly find him,

for he had committed many crimes which were fully proved, and I have been told that he took flight to Castile.

After this one Pedro de Pacheco, a native of Ciudad Real, came as Governor of the said province, and he had the reputation of being a good Governor. The Royal Audiencia of this city sent to take his Residencia on certain matters, and on account of traffic which they say he had with the Indians they ordered him to come as a prisoner to this city, and they say that he died of the dishonour and annoyance. In the way I have described things happened in this province and government.

Let us go on to the province of Nicaragua. The first to commence peopling it and conquering it was a Captain whom Pedrarias Davila sent there at the time he was Governor of Tierrafirme. This Captain was named Francisco Hernández, a man of distinction. It must be understood that I am not speaking of the first discoverer of Yucatan, who was also named Francisco Hernández de Córdova, but of him sent by Pedrarias Davila, who ordered him to be beheaded in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four, because he received trustworthy information that he was rising in rebellion with that province, on account of support promised him by Cortés, when we were on the Honduras expedition, as I have stated in the chapter that speaks of it. Thus Pedrarias Davila had already beheaded two Captains; the first was named Vasco Nuñez de Balboa who was married to his daughter, and the second was this Francisco Hernández of whom we have made mention, and after he had ordered him to be punished he sent to beg His Majesty the grant of that Government of Nicaragua for his son-in-law, named Rodrigo de Contreras, a native of Segovia, to whom a short time previously he had married his daughter named Doña Maria Arias de Peñalosa.

After Rodrigo de Contreras had ruled for some years, an order came from His Majesty depriving him of the Government, and it remained for some time subject to the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala. Some years later His Majesty granted the Government of it, and of the province of Costa Rica, which was not yet conquered, to a gentleman named Juan Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, and on his way by sea the ship in which he sailed was lost, and he was drowned—May God pardon him. Since then there have been other Governors whom I will not mention here, because as that province contained very few Indians and they decrease every day, it would have been better if it had not had so many Governors.[1] I will omit relating the many things that happened in that province, nor [will I speak] of its volcanoes, which emit great flames of fire, nor will I call to mind the expedition which Francisco Vasquez Coronado made from Mexico to the cities which they call Cibola, for as I did not go with him I have no right to speak of it. The soldiers who went on that journey will be better able to report it. However it is said that in that great city months before . . . . and beautiful . . . . carried to the province . . . . with which he found to . . . . persons they say that . . . . fell ill of this in . . . . there are not wanting those who say . . . . the Trojan war and . . . . on that expedition that . . . . pesos de oro of . . . . of the other fleet . . . . deaths and hardships of hunger and other bad fortune . . . . property of His Majesty and theirs, and they returned to Mexico lost. I have related the best that I am able of all the Governors that have been in this province of New Spain, and it will be well to speak in another chapter about the Archbishops and Bishops that have been here.

[*Here the manuscript ends.*]

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "as came to it."

APPENDIX A.

THE MARCH OF HERNANDO CORTÉS FROM MEXICO TO HONDURAS.

THE march of Hernando Cortés from Mexico to Honduras was not the least important exploit of that great Captain, but it has received comparatively little attention at the hands of historians. Prescott devotes a few pages to it, but makes no attempt to follow it in detail; he states in a note:[1] "I have examined some of the most ancient maps of the country by Spanish, French, and Dutch cosmographers in order to determine the route of Cortés. . . . . I can detect on them only four or five of the places indicated by the General."

Don Pascual de Gayangos, in an Introduction to his translation of the Carta Quinta, the Fifth Letter of Cortés to the Emperor Charles V, says that "few are the indications — and those very slight — of the route they (the Spaniards) followed," and he makes no attempt to define it. However, a careful comparison of the only two accounts of the march, that by Cortés himself in the Carta Quinta, and that given by Bernal Díaz, and some personal knowledge of the country traversed, makes it possible to trace the line of march for a considerable part of the way with some hope of accuracy.

Cortés left the City of Mexico on the 12th October, 1524. The Carta Quinta was written on his return to the City, and is dated 3rd September, 1526. Bernal Díaz wrote his account of the march about 1566, when he was

[1] Book VII, ch. iii, *Conquest of Mexico.*

an old man, and although he possessed a wonderfully retentive memory, it is safer to trust for all details to the account written by Cortés so soon after the events.

From Mexico City to Coatzacoalcos the journey was over country already well known, and the expedition may be considered as starting from the latter town.

The force numbered about 400 Spaniards, 130 of whom were horsemen, and some 3000 Mexican Indians.

The Indians of Coatzacoalcos provided Cortés with a map, painted on cloth, showing some of the pueblos he was likely to pass through on his journey.

The first part of the route lay across the innumerable interlacing waterways, lagoons and swamps forming the deltas of the great rivers flowing from the mountain ranges of Chiapas and Guatemala.

There were few paths or tracks which could be followed, as the Indians travelled by water in their canoes, and consequently they could give little or no information how to get from place to place by land.

The route followed from Coatzacoalcos to the pueblo of Copilco is fairly clear, and Bernal Díaz and the Spaniards from Coatzacoalcos had already traversed it several times. Many rivers and streams had to be crossed, some of them in canoes, and Cortés states that he made fifty bridges, one of them 934 paces in length.

Bernal Díaz, as we have seen, states that in after years Spaniards spoke of "the Bridges of Cortés" as they would speak of "the Pillars of Hercules."

In the map of Tabasco by Melchior de Alfaro Santa Cruz, which, with the memorandum accompanying it, dated 1575, was discovered some years ago among the Archives of the Indies at Seville by my friend the late Dr. Sebastian Marmion, there is written along the course of the Rio Guimango the following legend :—" In this river, which is the Rio Guimango, there is to-day beneath the water the

timber of a bridge built by the Marquis, which is preserved low down in the water."

Bernal Díaz, who had been sent on ahead to Cimatan, was to have returned to meet Cortés at Iquinuapa; however, Cortés makes no mention of that pueblo, and it seems more probable that they met at the neighbouring pueblo of Copilco.

From Copilco Cortés marched to Nacajuca and then went on, crossing many streams and swamps, until he struck the River Grijalva, which he calls the Quezalapa.[1] This river was crossed (probably near the site of the modern town of San Juan Bautista) in canoes sent up stream by the Indians of Tabasco, and the march was continued up the right bank of the river as far as the pueblos of Zaguatan.

Zaguatan is not marked on any modern map, but on the Santa Cruz map the "tres pueblos llamados Çaguatanes" are shown in a position which makes it certain that they must have stood on the Rio Tacotalpa, a branch of the Rio Grijalva, ten or fifteen miles to the south of San Juan Bautista, and these pueblos are mentioned in the memorandum accompanying the map as Astapa, Xaguacapa and Xalapa, three pueblos which still exist. Here the expedition rested for twenty days. This was followed by a two days' march from Zaguatan to Chilapa and thence another two days' march to Tepititan or Tamastepeque, as Cortés calls it, near the foot-hills of the mountains of Chiapas.

It is quite impossible to reconcile the accounts of the journey from Zaguatan to Tepititan with the latest maps. Undoubtedly the Spaniards passed through Chilapa before reaching Tepititan, but this may not be the Chilapa

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[1] Probably the same as Mezcalapa, the name now confined to an upper branch of the same river.

marked on the recent maps (Alfaro Santa Cruz mentions Chilapa as between Macuspana and Tepititan). Both accounts state that the river Chilapa was crossed after leaving the pueblo of that name, and that four days were occupied in its passage, and as no mention is made of crossing the river at Tepititan, that pueblo must have been on the right bank of the river and not on the left bank as now located.

Then followed three days' march through dense forests and swamps to Ystapa (or Istapa), a name that has altogether disappeared from modern maps.

If Cortés took an easterly course he would have struck the Rio Usumacinta somewhere near the Laguna de Catasajá, and we may safely locate Ystapa in that position. Ystapa is marked on the map of Santa Cruz (which, however, is in this part hopelessly out of drawing) as higher up stream than Jonuta, which is still an inhabited village.

A halt of eight days was made at Ystapa, followed by one day's (?) march to Tatahuitalpan on the Usumacinta, which I locate near the modern village of Monte Cristo.

Cortés then asked the way to Ciguatecpan, a name that is not to be found on any map, and he tells us that it is higher up stream than the pueblo of Usumacinta, which is still marked on the maps. He received the usual answer from the Indians, that they did not know the way by land as they always travelled by water. However, they undertook to do the best they could as guides, with the result that after crossing a deep creek, which I take to be the Rio Chacamas, the expedition became hopelessly lost in the dense forest,[1] and the men became exhausted and in danger of starvation, until on the third or fourth day, by

[1] Bernal Díaz records the long march during which they lost their way as between Ystapa and Tamastepec (Tatahuitalpan). Cortés records it as between Tatahuitalpan and Ciguatecpan, and the latter is probably correct.

following a compass bearing in a north-easterly direction, they again struck the Rio Usumacinta near the pueblo of Ciguatecpan, which is not marked on any map, but must be somewhere near the modern Tenosique.

From Ciguatecpan Cortés wished to get to Acalá. This name has completely disappeared. However, I feel fully confident that the province of Acalá was on the Rio San Pedro Martir, an affluent of the Rio Usumacinta, both from the subsequent course of the route followed, and from the fact that Cortés sent canoes down stream from Acalá to the Gulf of Mexico.

The only later mention of Acalá that I can find is in Villagutierre's *History of the Conquest of Itzá* (Lib. I, cap. vii), where it is stated that Acalá was subdued thirty years after the conquest of Mexico by an expedition under Captain Francisco Tamayo Pacheco, which started from Merida in Yucatan, and that Acalá was soon abandoned by the Spaniards owing to the near neighbourhood of the unconquerable Lacandones.

After crossing the Rio Usumacinta in canoes the expedition marched for three days through dense forest and was then stopped by a wide river, which must have been the Rio San Pedro in flood, for heavy rain had fallen.

It was certain destruction to turn back, so, having had the good luck to find three small canoes, Cortés set about constructing another of his wonderful bridges, and with the help of his 3000 Indian followers accomplished the work in four days, cutting and using, as he says, more than a thousand posts the smallest of them almost as thick as a man's body and nine or ten fathoms long.

Bernal Díaz tells us that some men died of hunger while the bridge was being built. Fortunately a small supply of food reached the expedition soon after the river was crossed, and two days later the expedition reached Tizatepelt, the first pueblo of Acalá.

After resting for six days, a march of five leagues brought the expedition to the pueblo of Teutiaca, and another day's march to Izancanac on the Rio San Pedro.

The execution of Guatemoc probably took place at Izancanac.

The expedition left Izancanac, the last of the Acalá pueblos, on 15th March, 1525, and crossing to the south side of the river marched for three days through the forest to a pueblo of the Mazatecas, standing between a lagoon and a stream.

A day's march took them to Tiac, a fortified pueblo on a plain, and another day's march to Yascumbil, the last pueblo of the province.

On leaving the land of the Mazatecas the expedition marched for three days through an uninhabited country of hills and forests, passing the "Puerto de Alabastro," as the Spaniards called it, "as all the rocks and stones consisted of fine alabaster." This would not be far from a small lake now marked on the map as the Laguna del Yeso (Gypsum).

This journey brought the expedition to the borders of the Lake of Peten Itzá at its western extremity, and while his followers marched along the southern shore, Cortés visited the Island pueblo of Tayasal.

Between Tepititan and the Lake of Peten not one place mentioned by Cortés or Bernal Díaz is to be found on a modern map.

The course of the Rio San Pedro Martir, as laid down on the maps, is probably taken from a canoe survey, and the land on either side of it is unsurveyed and unmapped; yet I feel confident that the route I have sketched out is not far from the true one.

From Tayasal a day's journey brought the Spaniards to a pueblo on a lake which Cortés calls Checan. I have no doubt this is the small lake on Macanché, where I have

passed a night myself after leaving Tayasal, or Flores as it is now called.

From this point the expedition must have turned to the south-east, through unmapped country, and after six days of actual marching, the very rough range of hills was met with, which the Spaniards named the Sierra de los Pedernales—that is, of stones as hard as flints. Cortés states that it took the expedition twelve days to cross the eight leagues of this Sierra, and seventy horses were lost in the passage. It is evidently a range of limestone formation, and although it rained hard all the time, the water sank through the rock and had to be collected in kettles and other vessels for use. After passing the Sierra a river was met with in high flood, and two days were occupied in crossing it, and the expedition then reached a farm called Tenciz on the 14th May.

The Sierra de los Perdernales must be the high land close to the boundary line, between Guatemala and British Honduras, and the flooded river would be the Santa Ysabal (or Rio Sepusilha), the upper water of the Rio de la Pasion.

The river was probably crossed about Lat. 16° 30′ N., where the river leaves British territory.

This latter part of the journey took place during the height of the rainy season, and the rain that year was evidently exceptionally heavy.

With regard to the difficulty experienced in crossing the range, I may say that when I was making almost a parallel journey, fifteen or twenty miles to the west of Cortés's route, during the dry season, we had to lead our horses and mules by hand for nearly a week, although we were following a known trail, and we frequently had to cut away interlacing roots of trees and lianes, and to use the backs of our axes to break off the sharp points and edges of the limestone rock to enable our animals to pass.

On the low ground, owing to some showers which came after we expected the rainy season to be over, I have been all day wading through the forest knee-deep in water, and we were only enabled to get our baggage across a stream by crawling with it across the trunks of tall trees, which the Indians ingeniously felled on each side of the river, so that the branches should interlace and form a bridge.

The remainder of the march, as far as the Rio Sarstoon, must have been through what is now British territory, but with the exception of the course of the rivers the map is a blank, and none of the names given by Cortés are now known.

A further march of about fifteen miles from the Rio Sarstoon brought the expedition to the mouth of the Rio Dulce.

Cortés found the Spaniards of whom he had come in search at San Jil de Buena Vista on the sea-coast about two leagues from the mouth of the Rio Dulce,[1] and he found them in a more starved condition, if that were possible, than his own followers. Many and toilsome exploring expeditions had to be made in search of food, but I will mention only one of these, which was led by Cortés in person.

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[1] The following quotations from Bishop Pedraza's account of Honduras show that the original position of San Jil de Buena Vista (the Nito mentioned in Cortés's Fifth Letter) was on an island in what is now known as the Golfete, between the Rio Dulce and the Golfo Dulce. This site was soon abandoned for a position about two leagues from the right bank of the Rio Dulce on the sea-coast. "Esta casi 30 leguas adelante del Puerto de Caballos costa a costa el Golfo Dulce, el qual esta adelante de un rio que se dice Lanlá, entre el qual rio y el golfo Dulce, casi encima del Golfo que es el dicho Golfo como un seno esta una ysleta que se dice S. Jil de Buena Vista donde fueron aportar los mismos cristianos que per aquellas partes fueron que fue ante que fuese el Marques por alli los quales cristianos yban en compania de un capitan que se dezia Gil Gonzáles de Ávila."—*Relacion de la Provincia de Honduras y Higueras escrita por el licenciado D. Cristobal de Pedraza Primer Obispo de Honduras*, 1544; *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. ii, p. 403.

Embarking in a launch and some canoes, he and his party went up the Rio Dulce, and crossed the Golfo Dulce or Lake of Ysabal to somewhere near the mouth of the Rio Polochic, where the party landed and travelled for three days along the northern side of the Sierra de las Minas, finally arriving at a town which Cortés calls Chacujal.

Wishing to identify this site, I made many enquiries and heard of some ruins on the south side of the Polochic which answered the requirements as to position; but I could learn nothing of the name Chacujal, until, to my repeated questions, one of my half-cast canoemen on the Rio Polochic replied, "Chaki jal, that, Señor, is the name the Indians of these parts use for ripe maize." Cortés tells us that some Indians, whom he had captured in the forest, led him to the town of Chacujal; what they did was doubtless to lead him to a place where food could be found, for it could have needed no interpreter to see that the Spaniards were hungry.

Chacujal was indeed well stored with ripe maize, which Cortés loaded on rafts and conveyed down stream to his starving followers on the Rio Dulce.

I was able to make only a short visit to the ruins of Chacujal, which are completely overgrown with forest, but it was long enough to see that the buildings could have been of no great importance, although Cortés says that it was the most important town he had seen since leaving Acalá.

It is quite clear from the account given by Bernal Díaz, as well as that given by Cortés, that during their long march the Spaniards met with no evidence of the higher Maya civilization.

At Tepititan and at Catasajá they were within a short distance of Palenque; at Peten and Macanché they were at no great distance from Tikal and still nearer to Yaxhá

and to the group of ruins discovered by Mr. Maler. Just before crossing the Sierra de los Pedernales they must have been near Ixkun, and on the southern shore of the Golfo Dulce they were within twenty miles of Quirigua, all sites rich in the remains of stone buildings and sculptured ornament and inscriptions.

Had these been still living towns and cities, the Spaniards, when they were scouring the country in search of food, could not have failed to come across roads leading to them.

The whole journey from Coatzacoalcos to the Rio Dulce occupied about six months. The incidents and hardships of this remarkable march are well described in Cortés's Fifth Letter and in the vivid narrative of Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

APPENDIX B.

THE BURIAL OF CORTÉS.

CORTÉS left instructions in his will for his body to be buried in the church of the parish in which he died, and at the end of ten years for his bones to be carried to New Spain and interred in a Franciscan convent to be called La Concepcion, which he ordered to be founded at Coyoacan. However, his body was not buried in the parish church, but was placed in the tomb of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia in the Convent of San Isidro extra Muros at Seville. His bones were taken later to New Spain in accordance with his will, but as the convent which he had ordered to be founded at Coyoacan had not been built, they were placed in the Church of San Francisco at Texcoco. Thence they were removed and buried with great pomp in the Church of the Monastery of San Francisco in Mexico City on the 24th February, 1629.

In 1794 the remains of Cortés were removed to the Hospital de Jesus, which Cortés had himself founded and endowed, and were interred within a monumental tomb.

Here it might be supposed that his bones would have been allowed to remain in peace. However, during the heat of the revolution against the dominion of Spain, everything Spanish was abhorred, and it was even proposed in Congress that the bones of Cortés should be dug up and burnt. In the year 1823 this sacrilege would have been consummated but for the care of the authorities of the Hospital, who secretly exhumed the coffin and buried it in another part of the church and removed the

metal bust and ornaments from the tomb. These latter were afterwards sent to Palermo to the Duque de Terranova, the representative of the Cortés family, but whether the remains of the great Conquistador were also sent abroad is not clear—probably they still rest unmarked in the Church of the Hospital de Jesus.

These notes are abstracted from the account written by Don Lucas Alaman,[1] who was himself concerned in saving the remains from desecration.

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[1] *Disertaciones sobre la historia de la Republica Mexicana*, vol. ii, pp. 48-62.

THE FIFTH LETTER

OF

HERNANDO CORTÉS

TO THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

THE FIFTH LETTER

OF

HERNANDO CORTÉS

TO THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

HOLY CATHOLIC CÆSARÉAN MAJESTY—

On the 23rd day of the month of October of last year, 1523, I sent a ship to the Island of Hispaniola from the town of Trujillo, of the Port and Cape of Honduras, and by a servant of mine whom I sent in it, who had to remain in that kingdom [Spain], I wrote to your Majesty about certain events that had taken place in what is called the Gulf of Hibueras, between the Captains whom I had sent there and Captain Gil Gonzáles who went afterwards.

As I was unable, at the time I sent off that vessel and messenger, to give your Majesty a report of my journey and what happened to me on it, from the time I left this great City of Tenochtitlan until I came upon the people of those parts, and they are matters which it is right your Majesty should know, and so as not to fail in the custom which I have followed, which is not to leave anything unexplained to your Majesty, I will relate them shortly as well as I am able, for to detail them as they happened is more than I could do, nor for all that I could say would they be understood there [in Spain]. However, I will relate the most notable and important events that happened to me on the said journey, although it will be no more than a summary, for each event would afford material for a long letter.

When orders had already been given about the affair of Cristóbal de Olid, as your Majesty is aware, feeling that personally I had been idle for a long time and had done nothing new to your Majesty's advantage on account of the injury to my arm, it seemed to me that although I was not free from the hurt, I ought to undertake something. So I set out from this great City of Tenochtitlan on the twelfth day of the month of October of the year 1524, with some persons both mounted and on foot, but no more than those of my household and some of my friends and relations, and with them Gonzalo de Salazar and Pedro Almírez Chirino, your Majesty's Factor and Veedor. I also took with me all the Chieftains of the natives of this country.

I left the care of justice and government to your Highness's Treasurer and Accountant and to the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo. I left in the city a full supply of artillery, munitions, and the necessary [force of] men, as well as arsenals well provided with artillery and launches in them ready for action, also an Alcaide and everything fully prepared for the defence of the city, and even to attack anyone were that needful.

With this purpose and resolve I departed from this City of Tenochtitlan and arrived at the town of Espiritu Santo in the Province of Upper Oaxaca,[1] one hundred and ten leagues from this city, and while I was arranging affairs in that town I sent to the Provinces of Tabasco and Xicalango to inform the Chieftains of my coming to those parts, ordering them to come and speak to me or to send persons to whom I could tell what they had to do, [men who] could be trusted to transmit my instructions correctly; and this they did, for the messengers whom I sent to them were well received and they sent me in return seven or eight persons of distinction who were accustomed to act as envoys. I learnt from these men much that I wished to know about the country and they also told me that on the sea coast on the other side of the land called Yucatan, towards the bay which is called "La Asuncion," there were certain Spaniards who did them much injury, for, besides burning many villages and killing the people so that many places were laid waste and the people had fled to the forests, they had done

[1] Guazaco alto in the text.

even greater damage to the traders, and the whole trade of that district, which was very considerable, had been lost.

From personal knowledge they gave me an account of almost all the towns of that district as far as the place where your Majesty's Governor Pedrarias de Ávila was residing. They also made me a map of it all on a cloth, from which I gathered that I should be able to march through the greater part of the country, or at least as far as the spot pointed out to me as the abode of the Spaniards. Hearing such good news of the road which had to be followed in order to carry out my plans, and bring the natives of the land to a knowledge of our faith and to the service of your Majesty, and knowing that in such a long march many and divers provinces must be crossed, and that people with strange customs would be met with before one could ascertain whether those Spaniards were followers of the Captains whom I had sent out—namely, Diego or Cristobal de Olid, or Pedro de Alvarado or Francisco de las Casas—it seemed to me that in order to carry out the matter satisfactorily it would conduce to the service of your Majesty that I should go there in person, especially as so much unknown country was to be discovered and observed, and much of it might be brought peacefully under your rule, as has since been done. Having realised in my mind the advantages which would follow from my expedition, and regardless of all the labour and expense which it would involve, the consideration of which, as well as of the unforeseen difficulties which might occur, was pressed upon me by others, I determined to follow out this journey as I already had a mind to do when I set out from this city [Tenochtitlan].

At two or three places along the road before my arrival at this town of Espiritu Santo I had received letters from the city, both from those that I had left in charge there and from other persons —and your Majesty's officers who were in my company had received similar communications—to the effect that between the Treasurer and the Accountant there did not exist the agreement which was necessary for the proper discharge of their duties and the responsibility which in your Majesty's name I had placed upon them. I therefore took such steps as seemed to me necessary, writing to reprimand them severely for the error of their conduct and making them aware that if they did not mend their ways I should have to do what would little please them, and

even report them to your Majesty. While waiting in this town of Espiritu Santo arranging my plans, as already stated, I received letters from these same officers and other persons, in which they told me how the ill-feeling between them continued and increased until at a certain council they had even drawn swords on one another. This had caused such great scandal and tumult that not only was one party arming against the other, but that even the natives were arming themselves, saying that the outcry would be turned against them.

Seeing that my reproofs and threats were of no avail, and as I could not return in person to put things right without abandoning my journey, it seemed to me the best course to send the Factor and Veedor, who were with me, back to the city, with powers equal to those which I had delegated before leaving, so that they might preserve peace and find out who was in the wrong. I also gave them authority secretly, so that, if they could not bring the offenders to reason, they might relieve them from the offices with which I had entrusted them, and should assume those offices themselves in conjunction with the licentiate Alonso de Zuazo and then inflict punishment on the offenders.

This being settled and the Factor and Veedor having departed, I felt quite sure that their mission would bear good fruit and would completely calm the passions which had been aroused; this confidence in them fully set my mind at rest.

As soon as the mission had left for the city I held a muster of those who were left to accompany me on my journey, and found that there were ninety-three horsemen besides crossbowmen and arquebusiers and over thirty on foot, making in all a total of two hundred and thirty men. A large caravel lying at anchor in the port, which had been sent to me laden with provisions from the town of Medellin, I filled up with the supplies that I had with me, and with four pieces of cannon, crossbows, guns, and other munitions, and sent it off to await my orders at the Tabasco river. I wrote to a servant of mine who lived in the town of Medellin, telling him to load with provisions and despatch at once two other caravels and a large barque which were there: I also wrote to Rodrigo de Paz, who had charge of my house and affairs in the City [of Tenochtitlan], telling him to set to work at once and send five or six thousand pesos de oro to pay for the provisions which were to be sent to me. I wrote at the same

time to the Treasurer, begging him to lend me that sum, as I had left no money behind me. This he did, and the laden caravels arrived at the River Tabasco soon afterwards according to my orders. However they were not of much use to me, as I was marching some distance inland and it was no easy matter to communicate with the coast, owing to the great swamps which lay between, and get at the provisions and other things needed.

After arranging what things were to be sent by sea, I began my journey along the coast to a province called Copilco, a distance of about thirty-five leagues from Espiritu Santo, and on our way, in addition to many swamps and small rivers over which we threw bridges, we crossed three large rivers, the first at the town of Tonala, nine leagues from Espiritu Santo, a second called the Agualulco, nine leagues further on—both of these were crossed in canoes, the horses swimming and being led by hand from the canoes. At the third river, as it was too wide for the horses to swim across, we were obliged to find some other means of passage, so a wooden bridge nine hundred and thirty-four paces in length was made half a league up from the sea, and across this both men and horses were able to pass; this bridge was really a marvellous thing to behold.

This Province of Copilco abounds in the fruit called the cacao and other useful products, fish also being plentiful. It has ten or a dozen good pueblos in it without counting villages, the land is low lying and full of swamps, so much so that in the winter [rainy] season one cannot travel on foot but must go about in a canoe; and, although I marched across it in the dry season, in the twenty leagues which we covered while travelling across the province we had to make over fifty bridges to enable us to get along. The people were fairly peaceful though somewhat shy as they had previously seen little of Spaniards; they have remained very peaceful since my arrival, giving willing obedience not only to me and those with me but also to the Spaniards whom I left in charge of them.

From this Province of Copilco, according to the map given to me by the people of Tabasco and Xicalango, I had to go to another province called Zaguatan, and as the people only travel by water they did not know of any road which I could march over, but they pointed out to me the direction which I should follow. I had to send ahead some Spaniards and Indians to find

a way in the direction indicated, and when they had found one to clear the path so that we could pass along it, as it was through a thick forest. It pleased God that the path should be found although it was a very toilsome one, for besides the forest there were many troublesome swamps, and we had to bridge them all or nearly all of them. We had to cross a river of great volume called the "Guezalapa,"[1], which is one of the branches of the Tabasco River, and I arranged to send ahead two Spaniards to the Chiefs of Tabasco and Cunoapa, requesting them to send up the river fifteen or twenty canoes so as to enable us to cross it. And I told them to send these canoes laden with provisions from the caravels, and later on the canoes conveyed the provisions to the principal town of Zaguatan, which I judged to be about twelve leagues higher up the stream than the place where we crossed it; all this was carried out successfully by those Chiefs according to my request.

As soon then as I had found a road to this River Guezalapa which had to be crossed, I departed from the last town of the Province of Copilco called Anaxuxaca,[2] and slept that night in the forest among the lagoons. We arrived at the river early next day but found no canoes in which to cross it, as those that I had begged from the Chiefs of Tabasco had not yet arrived. I found out that the pioneers who had gone ahead were opening a road up the stream on the other bank of the river, for as they had been told that the river passed through the largest town of the province of Zaguatan they followed up the river so as not to miss it, and one of them had gone up the river in a canoe so as to arrive more quickly at the town. When this man reached the town he found all the people in a state of tumult, so he spoke to them through an interpreter who was with them and quieted them somewhat; he then sent the canoe down stream again with some Indians, through whom he let me know what had happened, and he added that he himself was returning with some natives and was clearing a road along which I should be able to march, and that he hoped soon to join with those who were opening the road from this end.

I was greatly pleased both at learning that these people had been pacified and at knowing for certain that a road had been

[1] Rio Grijalva. [2] Nacajuca.

found, for I was rather doubtful if one could be opened, and in any case thought that it would be a difficult matter. In that canoe and in rafts made of logs I began to send the baggage across the river which had a very swift current. While we were at work the Spaniards whom I had sent to Tabasco arrived with twenty canoes laden with provisions, which they had brought from the caravel which I had sent from Coatzacoalcos. I learnt from them that the two other caravels and the barque had not yet arrived in the river, as they had remained in Coatzacoalcos; they were however expected soon. About two hundred Indians of the Province of Tabasco and Cunoapa came in the canoes: we crossed the river in these same canoes without any other accident than the drowning of a negro slave and the loss of two loads of horse-shoes, of which we felt the want later on.

That night I slept with all my people on the other side of the river, and the next day followed after those who were clearing the road up stream with no other guide than the river bank. I marched about six leagues and slept that night in the forest in heavy rain. After dark the Spaniard who had been up the river to the pueblo of Zaguatan arrived from that place with about seventy Indians. He told me that he had cleared a road, but that in order to strike it I must turn back two leagues; I however told those who were opening the road along the river bank, who were already three leagues beyond the place where I slept, to go on with their work, and a league and a half ahead they came upon some farms belonging to the pueblo, so that we now had two roads open where there had been none before.

I followed the road opened by the Indians, and although we were impeded by some swamps and by the heavy rainfall we arrived that day at a suburb of the town, which although one of the smaller ones was of good size and contained more than two hundred houses. We could not go on to the other parts of the town on account of the rivers which ran between them, which could only be passed by swimming. The whole place was deserted, and as soon as we arrived even those Indians who had come with the Spaniard to see me took to flight, although I had spoken kindly to them and given them some small presents and had thanked them for the work they had done in opening the road for me, and had also told them that I had come to this country at your Majesty's command to let them know that they

should believe in and adore one God only, Creator and Doer of all things, and that they should hold your highness as lord and chief, and all such other matters as it was right to tell them.

I waited three or four days thinking that the people had fled through fear, and that they might return to speak to me, but not one of them appeared. In order to obtain a guide from them, and to leave them settled under your Majesty's rule, and also to learn from them about the direction of the road that I was to follow (for there are no roads at all in that country and not even a sign of anyone having travelled by land, everyone going by water on account of the great rivers and swamps that intersect the country) I sent out two companies of Spaniards, and a few of the natives of Tenochtitlan and its neighbourhood whom I had brought with me, to seek for the natives of this province and to bring them to me, so that I might carry out what I have just stated. In the canoes which had come up the river from Tabasco, and in others which we found at the pueblo, they explored many of these rivers and lagoons (for it was impossible to travel by land), but they found no more than two Indians and a few women from whom I endeavoured to find out whither the Chief and people of the land had fled, and they returned no other answer than that every one had fled into the forest through the swamps and by the rivers, each seeking his own safety. I also asked them about the road to the Province of Chilapa, as that was the route which I should take according to my map; but I could learn nothing from them as they said that they never travelled by land but in canoes by the rivers and lagoons—that travelling thus they could find the way but not over land. The best thing that they could do for me was to point out a Sierra which seemed to be about ten leagues distant, and to tell me that the chief town of Chilapa was near to it; and that a very large river ran by the town and joined lower down with the river of Zaguatan, and that the two flowed together into the Tabasco river. They also told me that up the stream there was another pueblo called Ocumba, but that they knew no road to it by land.

I stayed for twenty days in this pueblo and during all that time never ceased searching for a road which might lead somewhere, but I found none, either great or small, for in which-

ever direction we set out from the pueblo we met with great and terrible swamps which it seemed impossible to pass.

Being now in great straits for want of provisions, we commended ourselves to God and made a bridge across a swamp three hundred paces in length which took many beams of from thirty five to forty feet long, and over these we laid others crosswise. We passed this bridge and journeyed on in the direction in which we were told the pueblo of Chilapa was to be found. I also sent a company of horsemen and some crossbowmen in the other direction to look for the pueblo of Ocumba, and they came upon it that very day and crossed the river by swimming and in two canoes which they found there. The people of the pueblo took to flight at once. There they found a good supply of provisions, but they captured only two men and a few women and returned at once to join me. I camped out that night and thanked God that the country was more open and dry and that we did not meet with so many swamps. The Indians captured in the pueblo of Ocumba guided us towards Chilapa, where we arrived late the next day to find the whole pueblo burnt and the natives fled.

This pueblo of Chilapa is large and well placed; there are many plantations of fruit trees and many fields of maize, but the grain was not yet quite ripe, nevertheless it was a great help to us in our distress. I stayed two days in the pueblo collecting food and searching the neighbourhood for the natives so as to pacify them and also gain some information about the road to be followed; we found however no more than two Indians who had been captured when the pueblo was first entered. I learned something from them about the road to Tepititan, or Tamastepeque as others call it, and although there was no track, and they had to guess at the direction, they led us there in two days. We crossed on the way a very large river called the Chilapa, after which the pueblo was named. The passage of the river was very arduous on account of its breadth and swift current, and as there were no canoes we had to cross on rafts; another slave was drowned in this river, and the Spaniards lost much of their baggage. After crossing this river, which we did a league and a half from the pueblo of Chilapa, and throughout the six or seven leagues which we traversed before arriving at Tepititan we crossed many great swamps, and in all of them the horses

sank up to their knees and often to their ears. One swamp was especially dangerous and we made a bridge across it, as two or three Spaniards were nearly drowned in it. After two days of hard work we arrived at the pueblo which was burnt and deserted; this doubled our difficulties. We found some fruit in the pueblo and some unripe maize but it was more mature than what we had found at the last pueblo. We also found in some of the burnt houses stores of dry maize; they were however few in number, but were a great help to us in our dire need.

In this pueblo of Tepititan, which is close to a large range of hills, we stayed for six days searching the country round and hoping to communicate with the natives so as to leave them settled in their pueblo, and also to get information about the road which we should follow, but we captured only one man and a few women. From these people we learnt that the Chieftain and the natives of the pueblo had been induced to burn their houses by the people of Zaguatan and that they had fled to the forest.

The man told me that he did not know the road to Istapa, for there was none (this according to my map was the next pueblo which I should pass), but that he could guide me more or less correctly in the direction in which he knew it to lie. With this guide I sent ahead thirty horsemen and thirty men on foot, and told them to get to that pueblo and then to write me a report of the road, and that I would not start until I received their letter. It happened however that after waiting two days without receiving any news of them I was obliged to start on account of the want to which we were reduced, and to follow their trail as our only guide, but it was easy enough to follow their tracks through the swamps, for I can assure your Majesty that even on the tops of the hills the horses sank to their girths when riderless and led by hand. In this manner I marched two days without hearing anything of those who had gone on in front and in the greatest perplexity as to what I ought to do, for to return seemed impossible, and what lay ahead of us was very doubtful. Thank God who helps us in our worst distresses, for while we were camped in the forest, all very sad at the thought that we should surely perish, there arrived two Indians of Tenochtitlan with a letter from the Spaniards who had gone on ahead telling me that they had arrived at the pueblo of Istapa, and that when

they got there they found all the women and goods on the other side of the river which flowed past the pueblo, but that many of the men remained in the pueblo, thinking that they would be unable to cross the great lagoon which lay outside it. When however the natives saw that they were swimming their horses and holding on to the pommels of their saddles, they began to set fire to the pueblo, but did it so hurriedly that not all the houses caught fire and all the natives ran to the river and crossed it either in the numerous canoes that they had there or by swimming. In their haste many of them were drowned, but seven or eight of them were captured—amongst them one who appeared to be a Chief; all of them would be kept prisoners until my arrival.

I cannot tell your Majesty the joy of my people when this letter arrived, for, as I have already said, we had almost given up all hope of relief. Early next day I set out along the trail, guided by the Indians who had brought the letter, and arrived that evening at the pueblo. I found all the people who had gone on ahead very cheerful, for they had found many maize fields, though not very large ones, and also yucas and red peppers[1] which is what the natives of the Islands are accustomed to feed on. As soon as I arrived I had the natives who were captured in the pueblo brought before me, and asked them through an interpreter why they set fire to their houses and pueblos and took to flight, as I never did them any harm whatever; on the other hand to those who waited to receive me I gave presents which I had brought with me. They answered that the Chief of Zaguatan had come there in a canoe and had frightened them very much, making them burn their pueblo and desert it. I made them bring before the Chief all the men and women whom I had captured at Zaguatan, Chilapa and Tepititan, and told them that in order that they might see how that bad man had lied to them, they might learn from these Indians whether I had done them any harm or whether they had been well treated whilst in my company. As soon as they had informed themselves they cried out and said that they had been deceived, and showed their regret at what they had done. To reassure them further I gave

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[1] Agoe in the text: either Aje = a tuber like a yam, Aji = red peppers or Ajo = garlic.

leave to all those men and women, that I had brought from the pueblos we had passed through, to return to their homes, and I gave them some trifling presents and letters, which I told them to keep in their pueblos to show to any Spaniards who should visit them, and that these letters should secure them from molestation. I ordered them to tell their Chiefs what a great error they had committed in burning and deserting their houses and pueblos, and that they should never do such a thing again, for they were quite safe, as no harm would be done to them. On hearing this the Indians of Istapa went away quite contented, and this helped to content the others. After this I spoke to the Indian who seemed to be the most important among them, and told him that he could see that I harmed no one, and that my coming to their country was not to offend them but to teach them what was good for them to know, both for the safety of their persons and property and for the salvation of their souls. I then asked him to send two or three men who were with him, in company with some natives of Tenochtitlan, to summon the Chief and to tell him that he need have no fear, but would certainly benefit greatly by coming to see me. He replied that he was quite willing to do this, so I sent them off at once with the Mexican Indians in company with them. The next morning the messengers returned with the Chief and forty men. The Chief told me that he had fled and ordered his pueblo to be burnt because the Chief of Zaguatan had advised him to set it on fire, and not to await my coming, as I would put everyone to death ; now however he had heard from those of his people whom I had sent to summon him that he had been deceived, and that the Chief of Zaguatan had not told him the truth. He said that he was sorry for what he had done and begged me to pardon him, promising that for the future he would do whatever I ordered. He begged me to give back to him certain women whom the Spaniards had captured on their first arrival, so twenty of them were collected at once and given back to him, at which he was greatly pleased.

It happened that a Spaniard caught one of the Indians, a native of Mexico, who was in his company, in the act of eating a piece of the flesh of an Indian who had been killed in the assault on the pueblo, and he came to tell me of it. I had the offender burnt to death while the Chief of the pueblo was present and I let him know that the cause of punishment was that he had killed and

eaten an Indian—a deed forbidden by your Majesty and which I, in your royal name, had given strict orders should never be permitted; so because this Indian had killed and eaten another he had been burnt to death. It was not my wish that anybody should be killed, for I came here at your Majesty's orders to protect and defend both their property and their persons, and to teach them to acknowledge and adore the one only God, who is in heaven, Creator and Doer of all things and by whose will all things live and are governed; also to teach them to put aside their idols and to abandon the rites which hitherto they had observed, for they were lies and snares of the devil, the enemy of the human race, which he put forth to deceive them and to bring them to everlasting damnation, in which they would suffer great and terrible torments, and to lead them away from the knowledge of God, so that they should be saved and thus enjoy the glory and happiness which God promised and had prepared for those who believed in Him, which happiness the devil himself had lost through his malice and iniquity. I had also come to tell them that your Majesty, whom the universe obeys and serves according to the Divine will, was now lord over the land, and that they had to subject themselves to the Imperial yoke and do that which we, who were here as your Majesty's ministers, should order them to do; that by so doing they would be treated with justice and well looked after, and their property and persons would be protected; but that should they not act thus they would be proceeded against and punished according to the law. I told them much more of the same nature, with which I will not weary your Majesty. The Chief was well satisfied with what he had heard, and immediately ordered some of those that were with him to fetch supplies of food; this they did. I gave the Chief a present of a few trifles from Spain, which he valued greatly, and he stayed contentedly in my company all the time that I remained there. This Chief also ordered a road to be opened to another pueblo called Tatahuitalpan, five leagues higher up the river; and as there was a deep river to be crossed on the way he had a good bridge made over which we passed; he also had some very bad swamps prepared so that we could cross them. He also gave me three canoes in which I despatched three Spaniards down stream to the Tabasco river (for this is the largest of the streams which flow into that river) at which place the caravels

were awaiting my orders. By these Spaniards I sent instructions that the caravels should follow the coast until they doubled the point called the Point of Yucatan, and then should go on to the bay of La Asuncion, for there they would meet me or I would send instructions to them as to what they should do next.

I ordered the Spaniards, who went in the canoes, to load them, and any other canoes that they could find in Tabasco and Xicalango, with all the supplies that they could carry and to take them up a great river to the Province of Acalá, which is distant forty leagues from this town of Istapa, and said that I would meet them there. When these men had started and the road had been cleared I asked the Chief of Istapa to give me three or four canoes to send up the river with half a dozen Spaniards and some of his own people, one of whom should be a person of some importance, so that they might calm the fears of the people of the pueblos and stop them from burning their houses and taking to flight. This the Chief did with every sign of goodwill, and it bore good fruit, for the people of four or five pueblos up the river were pacified, as I shall presently tell your Majesty.

This pueblo of Istapa is a very large one and is situated on a beautiful river; it is a good site for a Spanish settlement, as there is good pasture along the river bank, excellent farm land, and a good deal of land under cultivation.

I stayed six or eight days in the pueblo of Istapa making the arrangements already recounted, and then continued my march, arriving the same day at Tatahuitalpan, a small pueblo which we found burnt and abandoned. I got in before the canoes which had been sent up the river, as the swift current and the many bends in the stream delayed them. When they did arrive I sent some men across the river to search for the natives of the pueblo, in order that we might reassure them, as we had reassured those in the pueblo below. Half a league from the bank of the river they found about twenty men in a house containing highly decorated idols; these they brought to me, and on being questioned they told me that all of the inhabitants had run away through fear, but that they themselves did not wish to flee, preferring to stay and die beside their gods. As I stood talking to them some of my own Indians went by carrying things which they had torn from the idols. When the Indians of the pueblo

saw this they cried out that their gods were already dead; on this I spoke to them, pointing out how vain and foolish was their belief that such gods could do them any good, when they were not able even to protect themselves and were so easily overcome. They replied that their fathers before them had held that creed, and that they themselves believed in it and would keep it until they knew a better. From want of time I could not tell them more than I had told to the people of Istapa, but two friars of the order of St. Francis, who were in my company, conversed with them at some length on the subject of religion. I asked some of them to go and call the Chief and people of the pueblo. To reassure them the Chief of Istapa also spoke to them, and told them of the good deeds that I had done in his pueblo; they thereupon pointed out one of their number and said that he was their Chief, and he at once sent off two of his followers to summon the people; they however never appeared. Seeing that the people did not come, I asked the man who was said to be the Chief to show me the road to Ciguatecpan, as according to my map it was higher up the river and we should have to pass through it. He replied that they did not know the way by land, as everybody went by water, but that they would try to take me through the forest, although they could not be certain of success. I told them to point out the direction from the place where we stood, and I noted it as well as possible. I then ordered the Spaniards in the canoes and the Chief of Istapa to go up the river to the pueblo of Ciguatecpan and try to pacify the people there, and also of another pueblo named Ozumazintlan[1] which they would pass on the way. I told them that if I arrived there first I would wait for them, but that if they got there before I did they were to wait for me.

When they had started I set out with my guides by land and as soon as I had left the town I came upon a great swamp more than half a league long. With the help of the friendly Indians, who placed branches of trees and brush in the path, we were able to cross it. Then we came to a deep creek where we had to make a bridge in order to carry over the saddles and baggage, the horses swimming; and as soon as we were across we came upon another swampy place, more than a league long, where the

[1] Usumacinta.

horses sank to their knees and often to their girths, but as the ground underneath was hard we got across safely and entered the forest. In this forest I marched for two days, clearing a path in the direction pointed out by the guides, until they confessed that they had lost themselves and did not know where they were going.

The forest was so thick that, standing on the ground and looking up, one could not see the sky, and the trees were so tall and close together that even when one climbed up into them one could not see the distance of a cannon shot. When those who were ahead with the guides clearing the road sent to tell me that they were wandering about aimlessly and did not know where they where, I sent word to them to halt and went forward myself on foot. When I saw the muddle that they were in I told the people to go back to a small swamp which we had passed and where on account of the moisture there was a little pasture for their horses; for they had eaten nothing for two days. There we passed the night suffering much from hunger which we felt the more owing to the little hope we had of reaching a village. Some of the men were more dead than alive, and almost gave up all hope. I then told them to bring me my marine compass which I had brought with me, and which had often helped to guide me, bnt never yet in such extremity as we now found ourselves in. By the aid of this compass, and calculating the direction in which the Indians said the pueblo should lie, I found that, by travelling in a north easterly direction from where we stood, we ought to hit the pueblo or come close to it, so I ordered those who were ahead clearing the road to take the compass with them and to follow that same bearing, and on no account to depart from it. This was done, and it pleased God that our calculations should turn out so well that by the hour of vespers we came in sight of the idol houses which stood in the middle of the pueblo. All were so overjoyed that, almost out of their senses, they ran towards the pueblo without noticing a great swamp that was in the way. Many horses sank into it and some of them could not be got out until the next day, but thank God none of them were lost. We who came behind crossed the swamp in another part but not without difficulty. The pueblo of Ciguatecpan we found burnt down, even to the mosques and idol houses, and completely

deserted, so that we could obtain no news of the canoes which had been sent up the river. We found a great deal of maize much riper than any that we had found before, also yuca and red peppers and good pasture for the horses, for there is good grass on the bank of this beautiful river. Thus refreshed we began to forget our past troubles, although I was still very anxious for news of the canoes which I had sent up the river. As I was walking about looking at the pueblo I found a crossbow bolt planted in the ground and by this I knew that the canoes must have arrived, for all those that went in them were crossbowmen, and I was much distressed at thinking that as they were not to be found they might have been attacked here and all been killed.

In some small canoes which we found I sent some men across the river where they saw much land under cultivation, and passing through it came to a great lagoon. Here they found all the people of the pueblo in canoes or on some small islands. At the sight of the Christians the Indians approached them with confidence, although they could not understand a word that was said to them.

Thirty or forty of these Indians were brought before me, and when questioned told me that they had burnt their pueblo at the advice of the Chief of Zaguatan and had fled to the lagoon on account of the fright that he had put them into; but that afterwards some Christians of my party had come there in canoes, accompanied by some natives of Istapa, from whom they learned how well I treated the Indians. This had reassured them, and they told me that the Christians had been waiting for me here during two days, and as I had not arrived they had gone on up stream to another pueblo called Petenecte, and that the brother of the Chief of their pueblo had gone with the Spaniards with four canoes in case the people of Petenecte should wish to harm them. They also told me that they had supplied the Spaniards with plenty of food and all else that they needed.

I was delighted at this news and believed it fully, as they had come to me of their own free will and shown such confidence in me. I asked them to send some men in a canoe at once to look for the Spaniards and to carry a letter from me ordering them to return without delay. This was promptly done and I gave them the letter for the Spaniards. The next day at the hour of vespers

the Spaniards returned with the people of this pueblo who had gone up with them, and four other canoes laden with men and provisions from the pueblo whence they had just come. They told me that after leaving me [at Istapa] they had gone up the stream as far as the pueblo called Usumacinta, which is below this one, and had found it burnt and deserted. The people of Istapa whom they had brought with them went in search of the inhabitants, and having gained their confidence returned with them. These had afterwards furnished provisions and done all that was asked of them, and had been left peacefully settled in their pueblo. They themselves then came on to Ciguatecpan, which they had also found abandoned and the people fled to the other side of the river. When however the inhabitants had talked with the Indians from Istapa they all rejoiced and had given the Spaniards a good reception, doing all that they could for them. There they waited for me two days, and as I did not appear thought that I must have come out higher up the river. As they had waited so long they set out in company with some of the people of this pueblo and a brother of its Chief and went on to another pueblo called Petenecte, six leagues distant. This also they found deserted but not burnt down, the inhabitants having fled to the other side of the river.

However the people from this pueblo and from Istapa had made friends with them so that four canoe loads of the inhabitants had now come to see me, and brought me maize, honey, cacao and a little gold. Messengers had been sent to the inhabitants of three pueblos up the river called Zoazacoalco, Taltenango and Teutitan, who would probably come to see me during the next day. And so it turned out, for the next day there came down the river six or eight canoes with people from all these pueblos ; they brought provisions and a little gold. To one and all I spoke very fully, making them understand that they must believe in God and serve your Majesty. All of them offered themselves as subjects and vassals of your Highness and promised for ever to do what they were ordered to. The people of Ciguatecpan soon afterwards brought some of their idols, and in my presence broke them to pieces and burnt them. The principal Chief of the pueblo who had not come to me before, now arrived and brought me a little gold, and I gave presents to all of them, on which they became well contented and satisfied.

When I asked these people which road I should take to get to Acalá they expressed different opinions, those of Ciguatecpan saying that my road lay through the pueblos higher up the river, and that before the other people had arrived they had already opened six leagues of the road overland, and had thrown a bridge over a river which we had to cross. When the other people arrived they said that that road would take me a long way round through a bad and uninhabited country, and that the nearest way for me to go to Acalá was by crossing the river at the town where we were, and that thence there was a path which the traders were accustomed to use, and by which they would guide me to Acalá. They finally settled among themselves that this would be the best road.

I had already despatched a canoe with a Spaniard and some natives of this pueblo of Ciguatecpan to the Province of Acalá by water, to warn the people of my coming and tell them that they had nothing to fear, and to find out whether the Spaniards who had been sent from the brigantine with provisions had already arrived. Later on I sent four Spaniards with guides, who said that they knew the road, with orders to report to me if there was any difficulty or impediment in the way, and I told them that I would stay at Ciguatecpan and await their report. After they had set out I found myself obliged to start before they had written to me, so that the provisions which had been collected for the journey should not be eaten up, for I was told that I must travel for five or six days through uninhabited country. I began the passage of the river with a great fleet of canoes, and it was toilsome work owing to the breadth of the stream and the strength of the current; one horse was drowned and some baggage of the Spaniards was lost. As soon as we had got across I sent a company of men on foot, with the guides, to clear the road, then with the rest of the people I followed behind.

For three days we marched through thick forest along a very narrow path, and then came to a large creek more than five hundred paces wide. I set to work to look for a ford both up and down stream, but none could be discovered, and the guides told me that it was useless to look for one unless I journeyed for twenty days towards the mountains. This lagoon or creek placed me in such a difficulty that I cannot find words to express it; to cross it seemed impossible on account of its width and the

want of canoes, and even if we had had canoes for the people and baggage the horses could not have crossed, for on both sides were great swamps with a network of tree roots. No other way could be thought of for getting the horses across. To turn back meant certain death on account of the bad roads which we had passed over and the amount of rain that had fallen, for we well knew that the flood in the rivers must have washed away all the bridges that we had made, yet to rebuild these seemed equally difficult when all the men were exhausted and the thought was pressing on our minds that we had consumed all the provisions prepared for the journey and should find nothing more to eat. The people and horses were both numerous, for in addition to the Spaniards there were more than three thousand Indians with me.

I have already told your Majesty what difficulties there were in the way of our advance, so that no human brain could have suggested a remedy if God, who is the true help and succour of the afflicted and needy, had not aided us. I happened to find a little canoe in which the Spaniards, whom I had sent ahead to examine the road, had crossed over and from this canoe I had soundings taken right across the lagoon and found it to be throughout four fathoms deep; I had some lances tied together so as to test the nature of the bottom, and it was found that besides the depth of the water there was another two fathoms of mud, so that in all it was six fathoms deep. As a last resource I determined to throw a bridge across and at once I ordered wood to be cut to measure, that is nine or ten fathoms long including that part which would remain above the water, and I gave the order for cutting and hauling the timber to the Chiefs of the Indians who were with me—to each one according to the number of his followers. The Spaniards and I with them, from rafts, from the small canoe, and from two other canoes which had since been found, began to drive in the posts. It seemed however to all of us a hopeless task, and they were even saying behind my back that it would be better to turn back before all the men were exhausted or hunger would prevent us returning at all, for the work we were engaged on could never be finished and we should have to turn back whether we wished to or not. There was so much grumbling among the people that they almost dared to tell me this to my face.

As I saw them so greatly discouraged—and in truth they had good reason to be so, both on account of the nature of the work that we were undertaking, and because they had nothing to eat except such roots and herbs as they could find—I told them that they should not be employed on the bridge for I would build it with the Indians alone. I sent at once for all the Chiefs and told them that they could see to what extremity we were reduced and that we must either go forward or perish and I entreated them to make their men complete the bridge, for, once across it, we should be in the great Province called Acalá where there was an abundant supply of food, and that there we should rest; moreover they knew that in addition to the food that the country would furnish I had ordered supplies to be sent to me, from the ships, which would be brought in canoes; they would therefore be abundantly supplied with all that they needed. In addition to this I promised them that when we got back to Tenochtitlan they would be handsomely rewarded by me in your Majesty's name.

They assured me that they would do the work and at once divided it up amongst themselves, and they displayed such energy and quickness that in four days the bridge was finished and all had crossed over it, both men and horses. I believe that this bridge will stand for ten years if not destroyed by the hand of man, and even then it would have to be burnt for it would not be easy to destroy it in any other way. It contained more than a thousand posts, the smallest of them almost as thick as a man's body and nine or ten fathoms long, without counting the smaller pieces of timber; I can assure your Majesty that I do not think anyone could explain, in a way that would be understood, the method by which that bridge was built. It was certainly the most wonderful thing that ever was seen. As soon as the men and horses had crossed the creek we came on a great morass, two crossbow shots in width, the most terrible thing that man ever saw, in which unmounted horses sank to their girths and the more they struggled to get out the deeper they sank, so that we lost all hope of saving a single one of them; nevertheless we set to work to place brushwood and large branches underneath them, in order to prevent their being engulfed, and this helped them somewhat. Owing to our tramping backwards and forwards a little canal of mud and water was opened down

the middle in which the horses were able to swim a little and by this means it pleased Our Lord that they all got through without hurt, although they emerged so tired and exhausted that they could hardly stand. We all gave thanks to Our Lord for the great mercy vouchsafed to us, and at that very moment the Spaniards whom I had sent to Acalá arrived, followed by about eighty Indians of that Province laden with supplies of maize and poultry. God knows how delighted this made us and we were overjoyed at hearing that the people of the country were undisturbed and peaceful, and showed no wish to run away. The Indians of Acalá were accompanied by two persons of distinction, who said they came on behalf of Apaspolon, the Chief of the Province, to tell me that he was delighted at my arrival, and that he had heard of me for some time past through the traders of Tabasco and Xicalango, and was delighted to know me, and he sent by them a little gold. I received it with all the appearances of pleasure that I knew how to show, thanking their Chief for the goodwill that he evinced in your Majesty's service. I gave them a few small presents and sent them back, well contented, in the company of the Spaniards with whom they had come. They marvelled greatly at the building of the bridge, and this went far to establish the security which we afterwards enjoyed among them, for as their country lies amid lagoons and creeks they could easily have hidden themselves in them, but after seeing that wonderful work they thought that nothing was impossible for us to accomplish.

About this time a messenger arrived from the town of San Estevan del Puerto, which is on the Panuco River, bringing me letters from the judges of the town, and with him came four or five Indian messengers who brought letters from the City of Tenochtitlan and from the towns of Medellin and Espiritu Santo and I was very glad to hear that all went well, but I did not hear from the Factor and Veedor, for they had not yet arrived at the city.

This day, after the Spaniards and Indians who went on ahead to Acalá had departed, I followed after them with all my people and slept that night in the forest. The next day, shortly after noon, we came to some farms and plantations of this Province of Acalá, but before arriving at the first of the pueblos, which is called Tizatepelt, [we had to cross a large morass which gave us

some trouble, although we succeeded in getting across at last by making a detour of nearly a league and leading the horses by their bridles. About the hour of vespers we arrived at the pueblo] and found all the natives living peacefully in their houses; we also found food enough both for men and horses to make us forget the want that we had suffered. Here we rested six days and there came to see me a youth, of pleasing appearance, with a goodly following. He said that he was the son of the chief and brought us some gold and poultry and placed his land and person at your Majesty's service. He told me that his father had died, and so I condoled with him on his loss although I could see that he was not speaking the truth. I gave him a necklace of Flemish beads which I was wearing round my neck, and which he valued most highly. I then bade him farewell, he however stayed with me of his own accord for two days.

One of the natives of the pueblo, who was said to be the Chief, told me that near by there was another pueblo, also under his rule, where we should find better accommodation and more food, as it was a larger place and had a more numerous population, and he invited me to go there as it would be more convenient for me. I told him that I was quite willing to go and at once ordered the road to be cleared and lodgings to be prepared, all of which was well done. We then went to this pueblo, which is five leagues distant from the first mentioned, and here also we found all the people living undisturbed in their houses and a part of the pueblo cleared for our accommodation. It is a very beautiful pueblo, called Teutiaca and has most beautiful mosques, especially the two in which we took up our quarters after having thrown out the Idols. At this the natives did not show much distress as I had already spoken to them and shown them the error in which they lived, for there was no other than the one God creator of all things, and all the rest that I could tell them at the time. Later on I spoke more fully on the subject of religion to both Chief and people. I learnt from the people that the more important of these two mosques or houses was dedicated to a goddess in whom they had much faith and hope, and to whom they sacrificed only the most beautiful maidens; and that if this were not done the goddess was highly incensed with them, so that they took the greatest care to find such maidens so as

to satisfy her, and that they brought up the best looking girls from childhood for this purpose. About this I also told them what I thought was right and they seemed pleased at what they heard.

The Chief of this pueblo showed great friendship towards me and held long conversations with me, giving me a full account of the Spaniards of whom I was in search, and of the journey which we should have to make. He also told me in the utmost confidence, praying me to let no one know that the information came from him, that Apaspolon, the Chief of the whole Province, was alive but had ordered him to say that he was dead; that it was true that the youth who had come to see me was his son, and he had given orders that I should be led astray from the direct road that we ought to take, so as to prevent us from seeing their country and pueblos; he added that he told me this because he was well disposed to me and had received good treatment at my hands. He implored me to keep this secret, for if it were known that he had told me, the Chief would have him killed and his land burned up. I thanked him heartily and gave him some small presents in return for his good will, promising to keep his secret, and that in time to come he should be substantially rewarded in your Majesty's name.

I sent at once to summon the son of the Chief, who had been to see me, and told him that I was much surprised at him and at his father for wishing to keep away from me, knowing as they did my good will towards them and my wish to see him and to do him honour, and also to give to him such presents as I had brought with me, because I had been well treated in his country and desired greatly to make him some return. I knew for certain that his father was alive, and should be pleased if he would go and speak to him and persuade him to come and see me, for I felt sure that it would be greatly to his advantage to do so. The son told me that it was quite true that his father was alive, but he had denied it because he was ordered to do so; that he would now go to him and try hard to persuade him to come and see me, and that he believed he would come, for he had a strong desire to see me, knowing, as he now did, that I did not come to do them any harm, on the contrary that I had given them presents of such things as I had brought with me, but that having once denied himself he was now somewhat ashamed to appear before me. I begged him to go and do all

that he could to bring his father, and in this he succeeded, for the next day both of them came to see me and I received them with much pleasure. The Chief gave as an excuse for having denied himself that he was afraid to come until he knew how I was disposed towards him, but as soon as he knew that he wished very much to come; he also confessed that it was true that he had ordered them to guide me away from the pueblos, but that now he begged me to come to the principal pueblo where he himself lived, as in that pueblo there were greater facilities for supplying us with everything that we needed. The Chief stayed with me and I gave orders for a broad road to be cleared to his pueblo; we set out together on the following day.

I mounted him on one of my horses and he was very happy riding it into his pueblo, which is called Izancanac; it is a fine town with many mosques, and it stands on the banks of a great river which flows through the country as far as the port called Terminos de Xicalango and that of Tabasco.

Some of the inhabitants of this pueblo were absent but others were in their houses, and we found a plentiful supply of provisions. The Chief stayed in the same house with me although he had a house of his own, with his own people in it, near by. During the time of my stay he gave me a long account of the Spaniards of whom I had come in search, and made me a map on a cloth of the route that I had to take. He gave me some women and some gold without my asking for them, for up to this time I had not demanded anything from the Chiefs of these countries against their wishes.

We had then to cross a river, and before arriving at it there was a great swamp over which he [the Chief Apaspolon] ordered a bridge to be made. For the passage of the river the Chief gave us all the canoes that we needed, and he supplied guides for our journey. He also gave us guides and a canoe to carry the Spaniard who had brought my letter from Santistéban del Puerto, and for the Mexican Indians who were returning to the Provinces of Xicalango and Tabasco. I sent letters by the Spaniard to the towns and to the officers whom I had left at Tenochtitlan, as well as to ships at Tabasco and to the Spaniards who were coming with provisions, telling them all what they should do. When the letters was despatched I gave presents to the Chief of certain things to which he had taken a liking; he

seemed well pleased and all the people of his Province were settled and at peace.

I gave the Chief a letter which he had asked for, so that if any Spaniards should arrive they might know that I had passed that way and looked upon him as my friend.

I set out from this Province on the first Sunday of Lent in the year [15]25; the first day we did nothing more than to cross the river, which was no easy matter.

Here in this Province a thing took place of which it is right that your Majesty should be informed. It is that a respectable citizen of Tenochtitlan, Mesicalcingo by name, now called Cristóbal, came very secretly to me one night and brought me a drawing on paper such as is used in his country, and wished to explain to me what it meant. He told me that Guatemocin, who was the Chief of the City of Tenochtitlan, whom I had held prisoner since the capture of the city as I believed him to be a turbulent person, and whom I had brought with me on this journey together with all the other chiefs whom I thought to be cause of all insecurity and revolt in this country, that is to say Guatemocin, [Guanacaxin] who was Chief of Texcoco, Tetepanquetzal Chief of Tacuba, and a certain Tacitecle who was living at Tlatelulco in the City of Mexico: that they had often spoken and told stories to this Mesicalcingo, saying how they were dispossessed of their lands and lordships, which had been given over to the Spaniards, and that it would be well to seek a remedy to this state of affairs so that they might again hold their lands and rule over them; and that, during their many talks on this subject during the present journey, it had seemed well to them to prepare a plan by which they might kill me and those with me, and to call on the people of those parts to kill Cristóbal de Olid and those with him; then to send messengers to Tenochtitlan to have all the Spaniards who had remained there killed. They thought that this could be easily done, as all those Spaniards who remained in the city were new comers and knew nothing about war. When this had been carried out they proposed to call on the people throughout the land, throughout all the towns and villages where Spaniards might be settled, to kill and destroy them all. This being accomplished they intended to put strong garrisons of men at all the sea ports, so that not a single ship which might arrive should escape, and no news could reach Castile. Thus they would

again become Chiefs as they were before, and, in anticipation, they had already divided up the land among themselves and had given Mesicalcingo the chieftainship of a certain province.

When I was told of this treason I gave many thanks to Our Lord that it had been thus revealed to me, and at dawn I had all the Chiefs taken prisoners and kept apart from each other. I then asked them how this matter came about, and to each one of them I said that the other had told me about it, for no one of them knew what the other had done, and thus all confessed that it was true that Guatemocin and Tetepanquetzal had set the matter on foot, and also that it was true that the rest had heard of it, but that they had never given their consent to the plan ; these two therefore were hanged and I released the others, as they did not seem to have been guilty of more than listening, although that was sufficient for them to have deserved death : the proceedings against them were left open, so that if at any time they should relapse they might be punished. I believe however that they received such a fright (for they never found out through whom I got my information) that they never will relapse. They think that I found them out by some magic art, and that it is quite impossible to hide anything from me. They had seen how, in order to find the way, I had often consulted a map and compass, especially when the road neared the water, and they believed and told many of the Spaniards that it was by the compass that I had found out their plot. Sometimes, even when they were anxious to show their good will towards me, they would implore me to consult the looking-glass and the map so that I should know for certain their good intentions, as it was by those means that I found out everything. I let them believe that this was the truth.

The Province of Acalá is a most important one, for it has many pueblos with many inhabitants, and the Spaniards in my company visited many of them. Food and honey are abundant, and there are numerous traders and people who do business in other provinces. They are rich in slaves and also in other articles of commerce. Acalá is surrounded with watercourses, and all these waterways enter into the bay or port called "Terminos," and by them a great deal of traffic is carried on with Xicalango and Tabasco, and it is believed, although not known for certain, that they cross thence to the other sea, so that this land which they

call Yucatan is an island. I shall try to find out the truth about this matter and will send a trustworthy report of it to your Majesty.

As far as I know there is no other principal Chief than he who is the richest merchant and does the largest trade with his boats by sea, which is this Apaspolon whom I have already mentioned to your Majesty as the principal Chief, and it is because he is so rich and such a great trader that even in the town of Nito (of which I shall speak later on, for there I found certain Spaniards of the company of Gil Gonzales de Ávila) there is one quarter peopled by his agents, and with them a brother of Apaspolon who looks after his affairs. The chief articles of commerce in these parts are cacao, cotton, cloth, colours for use as dyes, another sort of colour with which they stain their bodies as a protection against heat and cold, candle wood for lighting purposes, pine resin for incensing their idols, slaves, and red shell beads which they use much for personal adornment on their festivals and holidays. They also trade a little in gold, but all of it is mixed with copper or some other substance.

To Apaspolon, and to many other worthy natives of this Province who came to see me, I repeated what I had already said to other natives during this journey about their idols and what they should do and believe in order to insure their own salvation, and also what their duties were towards your Majesty. It seemed that they were gratified at what I told them, for they burned many of their idols in my presence and said that from that time forward they would pay them no honour, and they promised to obey any commands that I should give in your Majesty's name. I then took leave of them and set out on my journey as I have already related.

Three days before setting out from the province of Acalá I sent four Spaniards with two guides, given me by the Chief, to examine the road which we were to take to the province of Mazatlan, which in their language is called Quiatleo [Quiacho ?] and find out if there were any rivers and swamps to be crossed; for they had told me that there was much uninhabited country and that I should have to sleep four nights in the forest before arriving at the said Province. I ordered all the people to get six days' provisions ready so that we should not be reduced to the want that we had suffered before. This was easily arranged, for there was a plentiful supply of everything needful.

After marching five leagues beyond the crossing of the river, I came upon the Spaniards who were returning from the examination of the road, and the guides whom they had taken with them, and they told me that they had found a very good road although it was through dense forest, but that it was level and free from any rivers or swamps that might impede our march. They had, they said, arrived at some plantations in the said Province without being observed, and had there seen some natives, but had turned back before they were noticed by them. I was greatly delighted at this news, and I ordered that for the future six men on foot and some friendly Indians should go on a league ahead of those who were clearing the road, so that if they met with any wayfarer they should seize him in order that we might reach the province without being noticed, and so catch the people before they could burn their pueblos or take to flight as had so often happened before. That day, near a lagoon of water, we found two Indians, natives of Acalá, who had come from Mazatlan, as they told us, to barter salt for cloth, and this seemed to be the truth as they were laden with cloth. I told them that they would have to return with me, but that they should not suffer through this and would lose none of their merchandise; indeed that I would add to it, and that when we arrived at the Province they should return home, for I was a good friend to all people from Acalá as I had received good treatment both from the Chief and the people of that place. They were quite willing to do what I wanted and returned with me as guides, taking us by another road, and not by the road which the Spaniards whom I had sent ahead were clearing, as this latter led only to some plantations and the former to the pueblo itself.

That night we slept in the forest, and the next day the Spaniards who went ahead as scouts came on four natives of Mazatlan, armed with bows and arrows, who were placed, as it appeared, to act as scouts. As our men came on they discharged their arrows, and wounded one of our Indians, and as the forest was thick only one of them was taken prisoner; he was given in charge of three Indians of our company.

The Spaniards went on ahead, thinking that there were more Indians in front of them, but as soon as they had gone on the three Indians who had taken to flight, but who it seems had hidden themselves close by in the forest, threw themselves on

our friendly Indians who held their companion prisoner, and fought with them and released him; thereupon our Indians pursued them through the forest, and, overtaking them, began another fight in which one of the enemy was wounded in the arm by a severe cut, and was then taken prisoner; the other three fled into the forest as they heard more of our men coming up. From this Indian I learnt that his people did not know of my coming. When I asked him why they were stationed there as sentinels he replied that it was always their custom, for they were at war with many of their neighbours, and in order to insure the safety of the labourers working in the plantations their Chief always kept spies on the road, so that they should not be suddenly attacked.

I went on with my journey as fast as I could, for the Indian told me that we were near by, and as I did not wish his companions to arrive before me I told my men to go on, and that when they reached the first plantations they were to hide in the forest and wait until I came up. It was evening when I arrived, and I hurried on, hoping to get to the pueblo before night. As the baggage had become scattered I ordered a Captain to remain there in the plantation with twenty horsemen in order to collect the baggage, and to sleep there in charge of it and come after me as soon as it had all been collected. I marched on foot, along a narrow path through thick forest, leading my horse by hand, and all those who followed me did the same. We went along till near nightfall, when we came to a swamp which it was impossible to cross without preparation, so I passed the word from mouth to mouth to turn back, and we returned to a small hut a little way in the rear, and there we passed the night, without water either for ourselves or for our horses.

Early next day we made a path across the swamp with many branches of trees and led all the horses across by hand, but it was very toilsome work. About three leagues from the place where we had slept we caught sight of a pueblo on a rock, and thinking that we had not been observed we approached it with great precaution. It was so well fenced that at first we could not find an entrance, and when at last a way in was discovered we found the pueblo to be deserted, but very well supplied with stores of maize, poultry, honey, beans and all the produce of the

land in great quantities. As the inhabitants had been taken by surprise they were able to carry nothing away with them, and it was well stored also on account of its being on the frontier The pueblo is built on a high rock with a lagoon on one side of it, and a deep stream which runs into the lagoon on the other side. There is therefore only one practicable entrance, and that is protected by a deep ditch and a wooden palisade breast high; behind the palisade is a fence of very thick wooden planks about ten feet high, with loopholes in it through which to shoot arrows. At intervals in the fence were watch towers which rose seven or eight feet above it, where piles of stones were kept ready to throw on their assailants below. The walls, parapets, and all the houses in the pueblo, were loopholed in the same way, and loopholed barricades were placed across the streets. So well planned were these that they could not have been improved upon, having regard to the sort of weapons with which they fight.

I sent some men to search the country for the inhabitants of the pueblo, and they caught two or three Indians; these I sent, in company with one of the traders from Acalá whom we had captured on the journey, to go and look for the Chief, and to tell him not to be afraid but to return to his pueblo, as I had not come there to trouble him; on the contrary I would help him in the wars that he was waging, and leave his country secure and at peace. Two days later these men returned bringing with them an uncle of the Chief, who governed the country, for the Chief was a child and they said that he was afraid to come. I spoke to the uncle and reassured him, and he went with me to another pueblo in the same Province, but which is seven leagues away and is called Tiac. There was war between these two pueblos.

This pueblo was also fenced in the same way as the former, and is much larger though not so strong, as it stands on a plain; its palisades, ditches, and watch towers are stronger and larger, and each of the three divisions of the pueblo is fenced separately, with another fence outside them all. I had sent on ahead to this pueblo two companies of horse soldiers and one of foot; they found the place deserted but with a quantity of food left in it. Near the pueblo they captured seven or eight men, some of whom were released so that they might go and speak to the Chiefs and reassure the people. This had been done, and with such

good effect that before my arrival messengers had come from the Chief bringing supplies and cloth, and after my arrival on two occasions others came to speak to us and bring us food, both on behalf of the Chief of this pueblo and on behalf of five or six other pueblos of this Province, each one of which is independent of the other. All offered themselves as vassals to your Majesty and professed friendship to us, although I could never get their Chiefs to come and see me.

As I had not time for much delay I sent to tell them that I accepted their submission in your Majesty's name, and requested them to give me guides for my journey, which they willingly did. One guide was given to me who knew the road very well as far as the pueblo where the Spaniards were residing, and had seen them there. I left this pueblo of Tiac, and went on to sleep at another called Yasuncabil, which is the last town of the Province and is fenced in the same way as the other towns. Here also the people had fled.

The Chief's house was a very beautiful one although built only of straw. In this town we got ready everything that we needed for the journey, for the guide told us that we had to travel five days through uninhabited country before reaching Itza, which lay in our route; this information proved to be correct. From this Province of Mazatlan or Quiache I sent back the traders whom we had captured on the road, and the guides whom I had brought from Acalá. I gave them some presents, both for themselves and to take back to their Chiefs, and they were well contented. I also sent back to his house the Chief of the first town who had come with us, and gave him also some of his women who had been captured in the forest, and some trifling presents with which he was completely satisfied.

Leaving the Province of Mazatlan I journeyed in the direction of Itza, and slept, at a place in the waste, four leagues along the way—indeed the whole journey lay through waste land and amid forests and hills. The path through the hills was very rough, and as all the rocks and stones consisted of very fine Alabaster we gave it the name of the "Puerto de Alabastro." On the fifth day the scouts who went ahead with the guide saw a great lagoon like an arm of the sea, and this I still believe it to be on account of its size and depth, although the water is fresh. On an island in the lagoon they saw a pueblo which the guide said

was the principal pueblo of Itza, and that to reach it we must go in canoes. The Spanish scouts halted and sent back one of their number to tell me their news. I ordered all the people to halt and went ahead myself on foot, to have a look at the lagoon. When I reached the scouts I found that they had taken prisoner an Indian from the pueblo who had come in a small canoe, carrying his arms with him, to examine the road and see if there were any people about, and although he came along without suspicion of what would happen to him, he would have escaped our men were it not for a dog they had with them, which caught him before he could get to the water.

I questioned the prisoner, who told me that nothing was known about my coming, and on asking him if there were any food in the pueblo he replied that there was none, but that near by, after crossing a small arm of the lagoon, there were some plantations and inhabited houses, and that there he believed we should find some canoes if we could get there without being noticed.

I sent to tell my people to follow me, and went on on foot with ten or twelve crossbowmen and the Indian for a guide. We passed through a long stretch of swamp with water to our waists and sometimes higher, and got to the plantations, but owing to the bad roads it was often impossible to keep hidden, so that we failed to escape detection and arrived just as the people had embarked in their canoes and put off into the lake. I hurried along the edge of the lake for two miles, often through plantations, but everywhere we were observed and the people were already in flight, and as it was getting late it was useless to follow them.

I rested in the plantation and collecting all my people together camped there, taking all the precautions possible as the guide from Mazatlan told me that the Indians were very numerous and very warlike, being feared in all the neighbouring provinces. He told me that he would like to embark in the little canoe in which the other Indian had come and go to the pueblo, which could be seen on the island about two leagues off, and speak to the Chief who was called Canec, whom he knew very well, and tell him of my plans and of the reason of my coming to these parts; for, as he had come with me and knew my wishes and had seen my doings, he believed that he would be able to reassure the

Chief, who would believe his report, for he knew him very well and had often stayed in his house.

I at once gave him the canoe and the Indian who had come in it, and thanked him for his offer, promising him that if he were successful I would reward him to his entire satisfaction. So he set out and at midnight returned with two men of importance from the pueblo, who said that they had been sent by their Chief to see me and to enquire into what this messenger of mine had told them, and to ask me what I wanted. I gave them a good reception and some small presents, and told them that I had come to these lands by your Majesty's orders to see them and to speak with the chiefs and people on some matters connected with your royal service and their own good; that they should tell their Chief that I requested him to put aside all fear and come to see me, and that for greater security I should like to give them a Spaniard to go back to them as a hostage while the Chief came to me. On this they set out in company with the guide and one Spaniard. The next morning the Chief himself arrived with about thirty of his men in five or six canoes, and with him came the Spaniard whom I had sent as a hostage. The Chief seemed pleased to come and I received him with cordiality, and as he happened to arrive at the hour of mass I ordered one to be chanted with much solemnity to the accompaniment of clarionets and sackbuts. They attended the service with me and paid much attention to the ceremonies. When mass was over, one of the friars who accompanied me preached a sermon through an interpreter, in a way that could be easily understood, about the matters of our faith, explaining to the Chief how there is but one God and pointing out the errors of their native beliefs. From what the Chief said and did he appeared to be convinced, for he said that he should like to destroy his idols at once and believe in that God about whom we told him, and that he would like much to know what should be done to serve and honour Him; and that if I would care to go to his pueblo I should see how he would burn his idols before me, and he desired that I should leave in his pueblo a cross such as he was told that I had left in all the other pueblos that I had passed through. After the sermon I addressed the Chief telling him of your Majesty's greatness and how all the rest of the world were your subjects and vassals and

were obliged to serve you, and that to those who served your Majesty thus were granted great favours and that I, in your Majesty's name, had done so in this country to all those who offered their services and placed themselves under your royal yoke, and that I made the same promise to him. He replied that until this moment he had acknowledged no one as his lord nor had he known that anyone had a right to be so; that it was true that five or six years ago some people of Tabasco, coming through his country, had told him how a Captain with some people of our nation had come amongst them and vanquished them three times in battle, and had told them that they had to be the vassals of a great Chief and all the rest that I had now told him, and he wished me to tell him if this was one and the same affair. I replied that I myself was the Captain whom the men of Tabasco spoke of as having come into their country and fought with them, and in order that he might assure himself of the truth he might question the interpreter who was speaking to him. This was Marina, she whom I always took with me, for it was in Tabasco that she had been given to me with twenty other women. Marina spoke to him and told him how it was true and how I had since conquered Mexico; she also named to him all the countries which I hold subject and have placed under your Imperial rule. The Chief showed contentment at this, and said that he wished to become a subject and vassal of your Majesty, and that he considered himself fortunate in becoming the vassal of so great a lord as I described your highness to be. He ordered his people to bring poultry, honey, a little gold, and some beads of red shell, which they value highly, and gave them to me. I gave him some of my things, at which he was greatly pleased. He dined with me with much pleasure, and after dinner I told him how I had come in search of those Spaniards who were on the sea coast and belonged to my company and had been sent there by me, and that it was a long time since I had heard from them and that was why I had come to search for them. I then asked him to tell me any news that he might have heard of them. He replied that he had heard much of them, for near to where they were staying were some vassals of his who worked in cacao plantations[1] for there was good land for them

[1] The word "Cacaguatales." Cacahual = a plantation of Cacao trees. Cacahuete = a pea-nut.

there; that from these people and from many traders who came and went daily from his land thither he was continually hearing news of them. He said that he would give me a guide who would take me to where they were, but that he must warn me that the road was very rough, over high and rocky mountains, and that it would be an easier journey if I were to go by sea. I replied that he could see that there would not be boats enough to carry the number of people and horses and the amount of baggage that I had with me, so that I was compelled to travel by land. I asked him to arrange for the passage of the lake and he replied that by going on by land for about three leagues I should get to a place where the water had dried up, and that I could then follow the bank to the road which ran in front of his pueblo. He added that whilst my people were following that route he begged that I would go with him in the canoes to see his house and pueblo also to see him burn his idols and have a Cross made for him. In order to please him, although much against the wishes of my own people, I embarked in the canoes with about twenty men, most of them crossbowmen, and went with him to his pueblo, where I rested pleasantly all day. At nightfall I took leave of the Chief, who gave me a guide, and I got into the canoe and went over to the mainland to sleep. There I found many of my people who had gone round the end of the lake and there we passed the night.

At this pueblo, or rather at the plantations, I left a horse which had run a splinter of wood into its foot and could not travel. The Chief promised to look after and cure him, but I do not know what he will do with him.

The next day, after collecting my people, I started in the direction which the guides pointed out to me and about half a league from our camp came upon a small plain or savannah, and then passed through a wood for a distance of about a league and a half. We then came out on to some beautiful plains, and I sent some horsemen and some men on foot far ahead of the others, so that they might capture any natives whom they might meet, for our guides told us that we should arrive at a pueblo that evening.

On these plains we found many fallow deer, and we speared eighteen of them from horseback. Owing to the heat of the sun, and the many days that the horses had been without proper exercise (for there had been no suitable ground, only hills and forests) two of the horses died and many others were in great

danger. When the hunting was over we went on our way, and soon after I came up with some of the scouts, who had been sent on ahead, awaiting me. They had captured four Indian hunters who were carrying a dead lion and some iguanas, which are great lizards such as are found in the islands. I asked them if they knew of my coming at their pueblo; they said no and pointed out the pueblo which did not look to be more than a league away. I hastened on, thinking that there was nothing in the way to prevent my reaching it. When I thought that I was about to enter the pueblo and could see the people walking about, I came upon a large and deep creek and there was compelled to stop. I began to shout to the inhabitants, and two Indians came over in a canoe bringing about twelve fowls with them. They came close up to me as I was standing with the water up to the horse's girths, but there they stopped and would come no nearer. I stood talking to them for a long time, trying to give them confidence, but they would come no nearer to me, but began to return towards their pueblo in the canoe. Then one of the Spaniards who was on horseback near me spurred his horse into the water, and began to swim after them. In their fright they upset the canoe, and some of my men, hurrying up, swam after them and caught them. While this was going on all the people of the pueblo took to flight. I asked the two Indian prisoners where we could get across, and they showed me a road by which we could avoid the water by going round about a league. We slept that night in the pueblo which is eight long leagues from our starting place that day.

The town is called Thecon [Checan, Macanché] and the Chief is named Amohan. Here we stayed four days, preparing six days' food (for the guides said that we had six days uninhabited country before us) and in the hope that the Chief of the pueblo might come in, for I had sent the two Indians whom I had captured to summon and reassure him, but neither Chief nor Indians appeared. At the end of this time, having collected all the provisions that I could find, I set out and passed on the first day through a very good country, flat and cheerful, with only a few patches of wood, and after marching six leagues at the foot of a range of hills we came on a large house, and close by it two or three smaller houses in the neighbourhood of some plantations. The guides told me that the house belonged to Amohan, the Chief of Thecon, who kept it there as an inn for

the many traders who passed that way. I stayed there the day after my arrival, both because it was a feast day and also to give time to those who had gone ahead to open the road.

In that river we had grand fishing, we cornered in it a number of shad, and caught them all without losing one of those which were inside the fish fence.

Next day I set out, following a rough road all day over hills and through forests, and after seven leagues of this rough road we came out upon a beautiful plain, without any forest but only a few pine trees. This plain was two leagues long, and while crossing it we killed seven deer and we stopped to dine at a cool stream at the edge of the plain. After dinner we began to ascend a small pass which, although not very high, was so rough that we could hardly get the horses up it, leading them by hand. On descending the other side we came to another plain half a league long, and then by another ascent and descent. In this ascent and descent we must have covered two and a half leagues of ground, so rough and so bad that there was not a horse that did not lose a shoe. We slept that night by a stream at the foot of this pass. There we stayed the next day almost up to the hour of vespers, waiting whilst the horses were shod, and although we had two farriers at work, and more than ten men who were helping to drive the nails, they were unable to shoe all the horses on that day. I went on that same evening and slept at a place three leagues ahead, but many of the Spaniards stayed behind both to shoe the horses and to await the baggage, which had been delayed by the badness of the road and the heavy rain that had fallen. The next day I went on as the guides told me that near by was a farm called Asuncapin, belonging to the Chief of Itza, where we could arrive early and pass the night. After marching four or five leagues we arrived at the farm, but found no one there. There I stayed two days awaiting the arrival of all the baggage and collecting some supplies: I then set out and slept at another farm called Taxuytel, five leagues distant from the first, which belongs to Amohan, Chief of Thecon. Here there were many cacao plantations,[1] and some maize though small and green. The guide and the manager of the farm, who had been captured together with his wife and son, told me that we would

[1] See note on page 381.

have to cross some very lofty and rough mountains, altogether uninhabited, before we arrived at some other farms called Tenciz, belonging to Canec, the Chief of Itza. We did not stay here long, setting off the very next day, and after marching six leagues across the plain we began to ascend the pass, which was the most wonderful thing in the world to behold. To describe the craggy roughness of this pass and these mountains would be impossible, for could the narrator find adequate terms no listener could understand or believe such a description. It is enough to tell your Majesty that it took us twelve days to traverse the eight leagues of the pass, that is to say for the whole of the company to pass through. Sixty eight horses died from injuries or from falls from the rocks, and all the others came through so badly cut and bruised that we did not think that one of them would recover. So there died in that pass of overwork and wounds sixty eight horses, and those that survived took three months to recover. During the whole time that we were marching through the pass it never ceased raining day or night, but the nature of the rock is such that it holds no water to drink, and we suffered much from thirst, and many of the horses died of it. Had it not been that we collected water in kettles and other vessels from the ranchos and huts which we put up every night to shelter us, sufficient for ourselves and the horses, neither man nor beast would have escaped alive from those hills.

In this pass a nephew of mine broke his leg in three or four places, and to the damage that he suffered by the accident was added increased labour for us all, owing to the great difficulty we experienced in bringing him out of the mountains. To add further to our troubles, a league before arriving at Tenciz we came on a great river which was so swollen by the recent rains that we could not cross it, so the Spaniards who went ahead had gone upstream until they found a ford, the most wonderful that I have ever heard of or could imagine. The river at that place was flooded until it was two-thirds of a league wide as the course was blocked by some large rocks. In the narrows between these rocks the river rushed with terrifying swiftness, these narrows are numerous, for the water cannot escape otherwise than between the rocks, so here we felled huge trees by which to pass from one rock to another. Thus we passed over at the greatest risk, aided by some lianes which we tied across; the

least slip in crossing would have been fatal. There were over twenty of these narrows which had to be passed, and two days were occupied in the passage. The horses crossed by swimming lower down the stream where the current was not so swift, and many of them took three days getting to Tenciz, not more than a league distant; so much had they suffered in the mountains that it was almost necessary to carry them as they could not walk.

I arrived at these farms of Tenciz on Easter eve [1525] and many of the men did not come in for another three days, that is those who owned horses and had to look after them. The Spaniards who were sent ahead as pioneers had arrived two days before me and had found inhabitants in three or four of the houses, and had captured over twenty of them as they knew nothing of our approach. I asked these people if they had any supplies of food, and they said no, and that none would be found in the country. Thus we were in worse straits than when we arrived, as for the last ten days we had nothing to eat but the kernels of palms and palmitos, and even of these we had few as we had not the strength to cut down the trees.

The Chief of the hamlet told me that a day's journey up stream, going back by the way we had come, there were many people belonging to a Province called Tahuycal, where there was an abundance of maize, cacao and poultry, and that he would give me a guide to take me there. I at once arranged to send a Captain and thirty men on foot, and over a thousand Indians who were with me. There it pleased Our Lord that they should find an abundance of maize but the inhabitants had taken to flight; so we drew our supplies from that source, but as it was a long way off we provisioned ourselves with difficulty.

From these plantations I sent out some of the Spanish cross-bowmen with a native guide to examine the road which we had to take to a Province called Acuculin, and to go as far as a village of the same Province which was ten leagues from the place where we were camped and six leagues from the chief pueblo of the Province; this is called as I have said, Acuculin, and the Chief's name is Acahuilguin. They arrived without being noticed, and in one house captured seven men and a woman, then they returned and told me that the road as far as they had gone was very toilsome, but that it seemed to them excellent in comparison with those we had already travelled.

The Indians whom the Spaniards brought with them gave me news of the Christians of whom I was in search. Amongst these Indians was one who was a native of the Province of Acalá, who said that he was a trader and had had his storehouse for merchandise in the pueblo where the Spaniards whom I was seeking lived, the name of which is Nito, and that there is much trade with all parts. That the traders belonging to Acalá had a quarter of the pueblo to themselves, and had with them a brother of Apaspolon the Chief of Acalá. He also told me that the Christians had attacked the pueblo in the night and had captured it, seizing all the merchandise that was in it. This was a large amount as there there were traders from all parts. That since that time all the traders had gone off to other Provinces, and that he himself and other traders of Acalá had asked permission of Acahuilguin, the Chief of Acuculin, to settle on his land, and that they had built in a certain place which he had assigned to them a small pueblo, where they lived and whence they traded. They said that trade had suffered greatly since the arrival of the Spaniards, for the trade route ran by their town and the natives dared not pass by there. This man said that he would guide me to the place were the Spaniards were living, but that it would be a ten days' journey over many bad ranges of hills, and that just before arriving we should have to cross a large arm of the sea.

I was greatly delighted to get such a good guide and did him much honour; the guides whom I had brought with me from Mazatlan and Itza talked to him, telling him how well they had been treated by me and what a good friend I was to Apaspolon their Chief; this seemed to give him more confidence. Being sure that he was trustworthy, I ordered him to be set free and also those who had been brought with him. Feeling thus secure I allowed the other guides whom I had with me to return home, giving them some small presents for themselves and their Chiefs, and thanking them for the work that they had done. After this they set off very contented. I then sent four natives of Acuculin and two others from the hamlet of Tenciz to go and speak to the Chief of Acuculin, and reassure him so that he should not keep away. After these I sent the men who were clearing the road.

I set out myself from this place two days later, as provisions

were running short, although we had had little rest and it was very hard on the horses. However we started leading the greater number of the horses by hand and that very night before the dawn the guides and those natives who were with him took to flight. God knows how I felt at having dismissed the other guides. However I continued my journey and slept in the forest after a march of five leagues, passing on the way some very bad places, at one of which a horse which up to the present had escaped injury was hamstrung. Next day we marched six leagues and passed two rivers, one by means of a fallen tree which reached from bank to bank; out of this we made a bridge so that the people could cross without falling. The horses swam across and two mares were drowned. The other river we crossed in canoes, the horses swimming, and that night we slept in a small hamlet of about fifteen houses, all of which were newly built. I knew this to be the place where the traders from Acalá had settled after leaving their town on the coming of the Christians. Here I stayed a day, getting the people and baggage together, and I sent ahead two companies of horsemen and one of foot to the pueblo of Acuculin, whence they wrote to tell me that they had found it deserted, and that in a large house which belonged to the Chief they found two men, who said they had remained there by the Chief's orders to await my arrival and advise him of it, for he knew of my coming by the messengers whom I had sent from Tenciz. He said that he would be delighted to see me and that he would come in as soon as he knew that I had arrived. One of the men went off to summon the Chief and bring some supplies, while the other remained where he was. They added that they had found cacao on the trees, and that there was fair pasture for the horses, but they had found no maize. As soon as I arrived at Acuculin I asked if the Chief had come in, or if the messenger had returned, and they replied no. I then spoke to the native who had remained behind, asking him why they had not come. He said that he did nor know, and that he was also waiting for them, but it might be that the Chief was waiting to know that I had come in person, and by this time he would be assured of it. I waited two days and as the Chief did not come I spoke to the man again. He replied that he could not think why the Chief had not arrived, and he asked me to give him

some Spaniards to go with him, as he knew where the Chief was staying and would go and tell him to come. Ten Spaniards were sent with him, and he led them five leagues through the forest to some huts which they found empty, though according to the Spaniards they showed signs of recent occupation. That night the guide ran away and the Spaniards returned to me. We were now left guideless, which doubled our labours. I sent a company of my people with Spaniards and Indians all over the forest, and though they scoured it for eight days they saw no man and not even tracks of them. They captured only a few women, who were almost useless, as they neither knew the road nor could tell us anything about the chief or the people of the Province. One of the women said that she knew a pueblo two days' journey away called Chianteca, where there were people who could tell us about the Spaniards whom we were seeking; there were many traders among them, and people who trafficked in all directions. I sent out some people with this woman as guide, and although it was a long two days' journey through a rough and unpeopled country the inhabitants of the pueblo had already been warned of my approach, and nobody could be captured to serve as a guide. When I had almost abandoned hope, as we had no guide and the compass was useless to us, hemmed in as we were with rough and intricate mountains such as we had never met with before, and not seeing a loophole of escape except over the road by which we had come, it pleased God that a boy of about fifteen years of age should be found in the forest who, on being questioned, said that he could guide us to some plantations of Taniha, which I remembered as the name of another Province that we had to pass through. The boy said that it was two days' journey to the plantations, and with him as guide we set out, and in two days arrived at the plantation, where the pioneers who went on in front captured an old Indian, and he guided us to the pueblos of Taniha, which are two days' journey farther on. In these pueblos four Indians were captured, and as soon as I questioned them they gave me very distinct news of the Spaniards whom I was seeking, saying that they themselves had seen them, and that they were distant two days' journey at that very pueblo, which was called Nito; which is very much frequented by traders and one often hears mentioned in many places; it was of it that they told me in the Province of

Acalá, as I have already informed your Majesty. Two women were brought to me, natives of this very pueblo of Nito where the Spaniards lived, and they confirmed the news, for they said that at the time that the Spaniards captured the pueblo they were living in it, and as the assault was made by night they had been taken prisoners with many others, and that they had been in the service of certain Christians whom they named. I cannot tell your Majesty the joy with which I and all those of my company heard the news which the natives of Taniha gave us, and at finding ourselves so near to the end of such a doubtful enterprise.

During those last four days' journey from Acuculin we had gone through innumerable labours and hardships, for we were among pathless rugged mountains and precipices, where some of the few horses left to us fell from the rocks. My cousin Juan de Ávalos and his horse rolled together down the mountain side, he breaking his arm, and had it not been for the plates of his armour which he had on and which protected him from the rocks he would have been dashed to pieces; as it was it was a very difficult matter to haul him up again. There were many other hardships which we met with, and which would take too long to recount, especially that of hunger, for, although I had with me some of the pigs which I had brought from Mexico, when we arrived at Taniha we had had no bread to eat with our meat for eight days, only cooked palmitos and some palm kernels without salt, for that had been wanting for many a day. We found nothing to eat in these pueblos of Taniha, for owing to their being in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards they had been abandoned for some time past, as the natives thought that they would be attacked by them; however from this they were quite secure judging from the state which I found the Spaniards to be in.

At the news of finding ourselves so near we forgot all our past troubles and strengthened ourselves to endure the present, especially that of hunger which was the worst, for even of the palm cores without salt there were not enough, for they were cut with much difficulty from palms with tall stems, and it took two men the whole day to cut one of them, and they could eat the whole of it in half an hour.

These Indians who gave me the news of the Spaniards told me

that there was a two days' march over a bad track to get to them, and that near the town of Nito, where the Spaniards were living, there was a great river which could not be crossed without canoes, for it was so wide that it was impossible to swim across. I at once sent off fifteen men of my company on foot, with one of these men as guide, to inspect the road and the river. I told them to try and get some speech of these Spaniards, without saying who they were, so as to tell me what men they were, whether of those whom I had sent with Cristóbal de Olid or Francisco de las Casas, or of the party of Gil González de Ávila; so they set out and the Indian guided them to the river, where they took a canoe from some traders and then kept in hiding for two days. At the end of this time a canoe with four Spaniards, who were going fishing, put out from the pueblo of the Spaniards on the other side of the river; they were all captured and as none escaped no news of the capture reached the pueblo. These prisoners were brought to me, and I learned that the Spaniards who were there were of the party of Gil González de Ávila, and that they were all ill and almost dead of hunger. I despatched two of my servants, in the canoe in which the Spaniards had come over, with a letter to the pueblo, to give notice of my arrival and to say that I was about to cross the river, and begging them to send me all the boats and canoes that they could collect and so to help me across. I set out at once with all my followers to the river crossing, and was three days in reaching it; there I was met by one Diego Nieto, who said that he was there as a punishment. He brought me a boat and a canoe in which with ten or a dozen followers I passed over that night to the pueblo. Even yet I was not free from great difficulty, for a heavy squall struck us in the passage and, as the river is very broad close to its entrance to the sea where we crossed it, we were in great danger of being lost, but it pleased Our Lord that we should reach the port in safety. On the next day I had another boat got ready and found some more canoes, which I tied together two and two, and after these preparations we brought across all the people and horses in five or six days.

The Spaniards whom I found in this place numbered sixty men and twenty women, whom the Captain Gil González de Ávila had left there. I found them in such a condition that one was moved to compassion on seeing them and

observing the joy which they showed at my arrival, and in truth had I not arrived not one of them would have survived. Not only were they few in number, unarmed and without horses, but they were all very sickly and almost starved to death. All the supplies they had brought with them from the Islands and those that they found in the pueblo when they took it were exhausted, and they did not know where to look for more, for they were not in a condition to go out and search the country for them. The pueblo was so situated that there was no way out that they knew of or were able to find and only with much difficulty was one discovered afterwards. Seeing the great straits these people were in and the little chance that they had of getting out in any direction—for they had never gone further by land than half a league from where they were living—I determined to seek some way of supporting them until I could send them back to the Islands, where they could regain their health, for among them all there were not eight of them fit to settle in the land. I sent some of my own people in different directions by sea in two boats which were found, and in five or six canoes. The first expedition which they made was to the mouth of a river called Yasa [Lanlá], ten[1] leagues distant from the pueblo where I had found the Christians, and in the direction whence I had come; for I had information that pueblos and plentiful supplies were to be found there. The people set out and after arriving at the river ascended it six leagues, and there came on some very large plantations. The natives of the country had however had notice of their coming and had carried off all the food, which they had stored in some houses near the plantations, and with their women, children and belongings had hidden themselves in the forest. When the Spaniards arrived at the store houses a heavy rain began to fall, and they took shelter in the largest house which they found there, and being wet through they carelessly laid aside their arms, and many of them took off their clothes to dry them and warm themselves at the fires which they had lighted. While thus resting the natives fell upon them, and as they caught them unprepared they wounded many of them so badly that they were obliged to

[1] Two leagues, in another copy of the letter, which would be correct.

retreat to their boats, and came back to me with less food than they had started with. God knows what I felt both at seeing them wounded—some dangerously—and at the confidence which the natives would gain, as well as at the little that they had done towards helping us in our dire necessity.

I at once sent off another Captain and more men in the same boats and canoes, both Spaniards and Mexicans, and as they could not all go in the canoes I made some of them cross the great river which flows near to this pueblo, and ordered them to march along the coast. I also ordered the boats and canoes to keep close in shore so that those who were marching might be ferried across the bays and rivers, which are numerous. In this way they arrived at the mouth of the river where the first party of Spaniards had been wounded, but they came back without doing anything or bringing any supply of provisions; all they did was to capture four Indians who were travelling by sea in a canoe. When asked why they had thus returned they replied that, owing to the heavy rains, the river was coming down in such a heavy flood that they had never been able to ascend it more than a league, and that thinking that it would run down they waited near the mouth for eight days without either fire or food beyond the fruit of some wild trees. Some of the men came back in such a condition that it was almost impossible to restore them to health.

I found myself in such straits that had it not been for some few of the pigs which had been saved during the journey, and were now used with the greatest economy without either bread or salt, we should all have perished. Through an interpreter I asked the Indians who had been captured in the canoe if they knew of any place where we could go and look for provisions, promising to set them at liberty and to give them presents if they could show us where any were to be obtained. One of them, who said that he was a trader and that the others were his slaves, told me that he had been here many times trading in his canoes, and that he knew a waterway which went from here to a large river which all the traders made use of in the stormy season when they could not travel by sea, aud that on that river there were many settlements of people who were well off and had large supplies of food. He said that he would guide us to some pueblos where we could obtain all the provisions that we needed, and he added, in order

that I might be sure that he was not lying, that I might take him bound to a chain so that he could not run away, and so that if he were not speaking the truth I might give him the punishment he deserved.

I at once ordered all the canoes and boats to be got ready and put in them all the sound men who were left in my company, and sent them off with that guide. At the end of ten days they came back just as they had gone, saying that the guide had taken them into swamps where neither boats nor canoes could pass, and that they had done all they could to get through, but that they had never been able to accomplish it. On my asking the guide why he had deceived me he replied that he had not done so, and that those Spaniards with whom I had sent him did not wish to go on any further; that they were very near the sea whence the river led inland, and many of the Spaniards owned that they had heard the noise of the sea quite distinctly and that it could not have been far from the point they had reached.[1]

I cannot express what I felt at finding myself so helpless and almost without hope, knowing as I did that not one of us would escape starvation. In the midst of this perplexity God our Lord, who always takes care to find a remedy for such distress, even in the case of such an unworthy person as myself—for he has many times helped and succoured me in my extremity, because He knows that I am working in the service of your Majesty,—sent there a ship which came from the islands without the slightest expectation of meeting me. This vessel carried thirty men besides the crew, thirteen horses, over seventy pigs, twelve casks of salt meat, and thirty loads of the bread used in the Islands. We gave thanks to our Lord who had succoured us in our distress and I bought all these supplies and the ship, which cost me in all four thousand dollars. I had already given orders to repair a caravel which the Spaniards of the place had allowed to go almost to pieces, and also to build a launch out of some others that were lying there half broken up. At the time of the arrival of the ship the caravel was already repaired, but we could never have

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[1] The guide doubtless wished to take the expedition to the mouth of the R. Motagua by way of the natural Canal which divides the Island forming the east side of the Gulf of Amatique from the mainland.

completed the launch had the ship not come, for in her came a man who, although not a carpenter by trade, proved to be a very good hand at the work. After we had scoured the country in all directions, a small path was found across some very rough hills which at a distance of eighteen leagues came out at a village called Leguela, where a plentiful store of food was found; but as it was so far distant and over such a bad road we could not supply ourselves thence. From some Indians who were captured at Leguela we learnt that Naco was the pueblo where Francisco de las Casas, Cristóbal de Olid, and Gil Gonzalez de Ávila resided, and where the said Cristóbal de Olid died, as I have already reported to your Majesty and will repeat presently. I had already heard of this from the Spaniards whom I had found in that pueblo [Nito, otherwise San Gil de Buena Vista], so I hastened to open a road, and sent off a Captain with all the men and horses, keeping with me only the sick, my household servants, and some persons who preferred to stay with me and go by sea. I instructed that Captain to go to the pueblo of Naco and try to pacify the people of the Province, for it had been somewhat disturbed from the time that these other Captains had been stationed there, and I told him that as soon as he arrived he was to send ten or twelve horsemen and the same number of crossbowmen to the bay of San Andrés, which is about twenty leagues from that pueblo, as I intended to go to San Andrés by sea in the ship with all the invalids and others who remained with me. I also told him that if I arrived there first I should await the men that he was sending, and that he should tell them that if they arrived first they should wait for me, so that I might tell them what to do.

When these men had set out and the launch was finished, I wished to embark on the ships and put to sea, but I found that although we had a supply of meat, there was no bread, so that it would be very risky to put to sea with so many sick people, for if we were detained by bad weather they would all die of hunger instead of recovering. While I was thinking over what should be done, the man who acted as Captain of those people (whom we had met at Nito) told me that when they had first arrived there they were about two hundred in number, and had come in a very good launch and four ships, which was the whole fleet that Gil Gonzalez de Ávila had brought with him. That in the launch

and the ships' boats they had gone up the great river and had found in it large gulfs of fresh water, and around them many pueblos and plenty of food. He said that they had gone to the end of the lakes, and that fourteen leagues up stream the river had begun to narrow and had such a strong current that during the six days that they were trying to go up it they were not able to ascend more than four leagues, and that there the water was still deep and they had not solved the secret of it. He thought that there was a plentiful supply of maize in that direction, but said that I had not men enough to go there, for when they went eighty of them landed at one village without being noticed, and, although they captured it shortly afterwards, when the natives had assembled they fought them and wounded them, so that they were compelled to take to their boats again.

However, considering the extreme difficulty in which we were placed, and thinking that it was more dangerous to go to sea without food than to go and search for it on land, I determined to ascend that river, for, apart from the search for food with which to feed the people, it might happen that God our Lord would be served by my finding some hidden knowledge which would be of service to your Majesty. I counted up the number of men who were fit to go with me and found that they numbered forty Spaniards; although not all of them were able bodied, they were strong enough to guard the ships when I landed, and with these men and about fifty Mexican Indians who had remained with me we went on board the launch, which was already finished, and two boats and four canoes. In the town I left a caterer with orders to give food to the sick who remained there. So I set out on my journey up the river, which was hard work on account of the swift current, and at the end of two nights and a day came out at the first of the two lakes, which was about three leagues from where I had started and which extends for about twelve leagues. Round this lake there is no population at all, as the country is subject to inundations. I was a whole day crossing this lake before arriving at the other place where the river narrows again; we passed through it and the next morning came to the other lake. It is the most beautiful thing in the world to see how, amidst the roughest and most forbidding mountains possible, there should be a sea so extensive that it measures more than thirty leagues. We coasted along until nightfall, when we

found the beginning of a road; two thirds of a league inland this led to a pueblo whence it seemed we had been observed, for it was altogether abandoned and had nothing in it. In the country round we found much green maize, which we fed on that night and next morning, but seeing that we could get no provisions here, of the kind that we were seeking, we took with us enough green maize to eat and returned to our boats without having met anyone, or even caught sight of the natives of the place. After embarking we crossed the lake, occupying some time in the passage, for it was very hard work and one canoe was lost, though the crew, with the exception of one Indian who was drowned, were rescued by the other boats. We reached the shore when it was already late and near nightfall, and were not able to land until next morning; then the boats and canoes ran up into a little rivulet which opens there and the launch remained outside.

I happened to come on a path and so landed there, with thirty men and all the Indians, and sent back the boats and canoes to the launch. After following the path for about a quarter of a league from the place where we had landed, I came to a pueblo which seemed to have been deserted for some time as the houses were full of weeds; there were however some very good orchards of cacao and other fruit trees. I walked about the pueblo searching for a road which might lead somewhere, and found one very much overgrown which appeared not to have been used for a long time, and as no other road was to be found I travelled along it for five leagues along mountains which we had to ascend on hands and feet, so overgrown was the trail. I then came on a maize plantation, which had a house in it in which we captured three women and a man, the owners of the plantation. They guided us to others where we captured two more women, and they led us by a path so as to take us to where there was another large plantation with forty small houses in the middle of it, all of which seemed to have been newly built; we must however have been observed before we arrived for all the inhabitants had fled to the forest, but as they were taken by surprise they were not able to collect all their possessions, but had left us something, such as poultry, pigeons, partridges and pheasants kept in cages, but we were unable to find either ripe corn or salt. I stayed there that night and we satisfied our hunger to some extent, for

we found some green corn with which to eat the birds. When we had been in that little village for about two hours two of its Indian inhabitants arrived, little expecting to find such guests in their houses. The sentries took them prisoners and on my asking if they knew of any pueblo in the neighbourhood they replied yes, and that they would take me there next day, but it would be almost night before we arrived. Next day we set out with these guides and they took us along a path worse than that which we had travelled the day before, for, besides being overgrown we had to cross a river at every crossbow shot, every one of them flowing towards the lake. At the great junction of waters running from these mountains are formed those lakes and swamps from which the river flows in great volume to the sea, as I have already told your Majesty. Keeping on our way we marched seven leagues without reaching habitation, during which time we crossed forty five rushing streams without counting small rivulets. On the road we captured three women who came from the pueblo whither the guides were taking us, and as they were carrying bundles of maize it was a proof to us that the guide had spoken the truth. Just as the sun was setting or had already set we heard a noise of people, and I asked these women what it was; they told me that a feast was being celebrated in the pueblo that day. I made all my people hide in the bush as well and as secretly as possible, and I placed my spies, some close to the pueblo, and others in the path, so that any Indians who passed might be captured. There I stayed all that night through the heaviest rain that I ever saw, and with the worst plague of mosquitoes that it was possible to imagine. The forest was so thick, the path so obscure and the night so stormy that on two or three occasions on which I thought of starting to attack the pueblo I could never hit on the road, although we were so near the pueblo that we could almost hear the people in it talking; we were therefore obliged to wait till morning, and we started early and caught all the people asleep. I had given orders that no one should enter a house or utter a sound, but that we should surround the principal houses, especially the Chief's house and the great arsenal, in which the guides told us that all the warriors slept. It so happened that the first house that we came upon was the one which held the warriors, and as it was growing light and one could observe everything one of my company, seeing so

many men and arms thought that it was good, seeing how few in number we were and how numerous the enemy appeared to him although they were asleep, to call for help and began in a loud voice to call Santiago, Santiago. At this the Indians awoke, and some seized their arms and others did not, but as the house had no walls at all only posts supporting the roof they ran out as they chose, for we were not able to surround the house altogether. I assure your Majesty that if that man had not cried out we might have captured them all without one escaping, which would have been the finest booty seen in these parts, and might have been the cause of leaving the whole country quieted by letting them all go free, and telling them the cause of my coming to the country, and reassuring them so that, seeing that we did no harm, on the contrary that we had released them after holding them prisoners, it might have borne much fruit, but now it was all the other way. We captured about fifteen men and twenty women and ten or twelve who would not let themselves be captured were killed; among them fell the Chief without being recognised, but his dead body was shown to me afterwards by one of the prisoners. Nevertheless we found nothing in this pueblo which served our purpose, for although we found green maize it was of no use for supplies such as we were seeking.

I stayed two days in this pueblo to rest my men, and I asked the Indians who had been made prisoners whether they knew of any pueblo where there was a supply of ripe maize. They said yes, that they knew of a pueblo called Chacujal, a very large and ancient pueblo, which was supplied with every sort of provisions. After two days I set out, guided by those Indians, for the pueblo which they told me about, and that day we marched six long leagues over bad paths and across many rivers and arrived at some very large plantations, which our guides said belonged to the pueblo which we were going to. We skirted these plantations for quite two leagues, marching in the forest so as not to be observed. We captured eight men—wood cutters, hunters and others who were wandering through the forest and came on us unexpectedly—and as I always had spies out in advance we captured them without one of them getting away. About sunset the guides told me to halt, as we were close to the pueblo, so I halted and we stayed in the forest until three hours after nightfall; then we continued our way and came upon a river, which ran

breast high and was very swift. It was very dangerous work crossing it, but by roping ourselves together we passed it without accident. When we were across the river the guides told me that the pueblo was quite near, so I halted the men and went ahead with two companies until we could see the houses and hear the people talking, and it seemed to me that they were unsuspicious and that we had not been observed. I returned to my followers and told them to rest themselves, and I posted six men on either side of the road in sight of the pueblo and then went myself to take some rest with the others.

I had hardly laid myself down on some straw when one of the spies whom I had posted came to tell me that a number of armed men were coming down the road, talking as they came and apparently unconscious of our arrival. I roused my people as quietly as I could, for as it was only a short distance to the pueblo the villagers soon came on my outposts, and when they observed them they discharged a flight of arrows and turned to warn the pueblo. They retreated, fighting as they went, and we entered the pueblo together, and as it was dark they were soon lost among the streets. I would not allow my people to separate as it was night, and as we must have been observed an ambush might have been laid for us, so with all my people well together I entered the great plaza where the natives have their mosques and oratories. When we saw the mosques and buildings around them, like those at Culua, we were more astonished than we had been hitherto, for nowhere since we had left Acalá had we seen anything of this sort. Many of my people expressed the opinion that we should turn round at once and escape from the pueblo, and recross the river that very night before the inhabitants of the pueblo could find out how few in number we were. In truth it was not bad advice, for there was every reason for fear after seeing as much as we had of the pueblo. We halted in that plaza for a considerable time, but heard no sound of the natives. To me it appeared that it would not be well to leave the town in the way suggested, for perhaps the Indians, seeing that we had stayed there, would fear us the more and if we should retreat it would show them our weakness and increase our danger, and so it pleased God that it should happen, for after waiting for a long time in the plaza I collected my men together in one of their large chambers, and set some of my people to walk through the pueblo

and see if they could find out anything. As they could not hear the slightest sound they entered some of the houses, for there was fire burning in all of them. They found copious supplies of provisions and came back to us well contented and happy. So there we stayed that night in the greatest possible safety.

As soon as it was day I examined the whole pueblo, and found it to be well laid out with good houses built close together; in them we found much cotton yarn and cotton ready for spinning, much good cloth of the sort that they use, an abundance of ripe corn, cacao, beans, red peppers, salt, poultry and pheasants in cages, partridges, and dogs of the kind that they breed for food (which are very good), and every sort of provisions. So much was there that if the ships had been here, so that we could put it on board, I should have been able to provision them for many days. However in order to profit by it we should have had to carry it twenty leagues on our backs, and we were in such a condition that unless we could rest here for some days it would be all that we could do to carry ourselves, without any other burdens, back to the ships.

That day I sent a native of the pueblo, one of those whom we had captured in the plantations, and who seemed to be something of a Chief judging from his dress when captured — for he was taken prisoner while out hunting with his bow and arrows and was very well equipped according to their ideas. I spoke to him through an interpreter, and told him to go and look for the Chief and the people of the pueblo, and to tell them from me that I did not come to do them any harm, on the contrary that I came to speak to them about things of great importance to them, and that either the Chief or some of the principal inhabitants should come to me to hear the reasons of my coming there; that it was quite certain that if they came it would be greatly to their advantage, but that a refusal to come would harm them very much. So I sent him off with a letter of mine—for they are much taken with letters in these parts—although it was against the wishes of some of my company who said that it was not good policy to send him, as he would report what a small company we were, and that the township being both strong and populous, as the number of houses in it proved, it might well follow that when they knew how few of us there were they might join with the people of other pueblos and attack us. I saw that there was some sense in this, but I was

very anxious to find some means of obtaining a supply of provisions, and I thought that if the people should come with peaceable intentions they might help me to carry some of the food, so I resolved to do all that I could to bring that about. In truth the danger of the Indians attacking us was not greater than that which we should experience from hunger if no provisions were procured, and on this account I determined to send off the Indian, arranging that he should return the next day as he knew where the chief and people were most likely to be found. The following day when he should have returned, as two Spaniards were making the round of the pueblo and examining the neighbourhood they found my letter fixed on a stick in the path and so we knew for certain that no answer to it would be received. And so it turned out, for neither that Indian nor any other ever came back although we stayed in the pueblo for eighteen days, resting ourselves and seeking some way of carrying off the provisions. While thinking the matter over it occurred to me that it would be wise to follow the river which flowed by the pueblo down stream, and to find out whether it ran into the large river which flows into the fresh water lakes where I had left the launch, boats, and canoes. I questioned the Indians whom we held prisoners, and they said yes, that it did, but we could not understand them well nor they us, for they spoke a different language from the Indians whom we had hitherto met; however by signs and by some words of the language that we could understand I asked two of them to go with ten Spaniards to show them the mouth of the river. They said that it was close by, and that they would go and return the same day. It pleased God that after walking for two leagues through beautiful orchards of cacao and other fruit trees they came to the big river, and the guides said that was the river which flowed into the lakes where I had left the launch, boats, and canoes, and they also called it by its name, which is Apolochic. Asking them how many days it took to go from the place where we were to the lake they replied five days. I at once despatched two Spaniards with a native guide who promised to conduct them by byways to the launch. I ordered them to bring the launch, boats, and canoes to the mouth of the large river, and to try with one boat and the canoe to ascend the large river to its junction with the other river. As soon as they had started I had four rafts made of wood and very large canes, each one of which

would carry forty fanegas of maize, ten men and many other things such as beans, red peppers and cacao, which each one of the Spaniards added to the store when the rafts were finished. It took us eight days to make the rafts, and by the time that the supplies were stored on board, the Spaniards who had been sent to the launch returned, and told me that it was six days since they began the journey up the river, and as the boat could not be brought so far up the river they had left it at a plaee five leagues distant with ten Spaniards to guard it; they added that being wearied with rowing they had not been able to come all the way in the canoe, so they had hidden it about a league off. As they had come up the river some Indians had fallen on them and fought with them, but they were few in number; it was probable however that they would have collected more men and be waiting for us on our return journey.

I at once sent some men to fetch the canoe and, placing it alongside the rafts, loaded it with all the food that we had collected, and I furnished the crew with long poles to protect us against the snags which made the navigation of the river very dangerous. I then appointed a Captain over the men who remained behind and ordered them to return by the road by which we had come, telling them that should they arrive first at the place at which we had disembarked they were to await me as I would go there to take them on board, and that if I arrived first I would await their coming.

I went on board the canoe and started with the rafts, accompanied by the only two crossbowmen we had with us. Although it was a dangerous journey owing both to the great strength and impetuosity of the current and to the certainty that the Indians would lie in wait for us on the way, I was anxious to go myself, as I could then keep better watch over the provisions. Commending myself to God I set off down stream, and so fast did we travel that in three hours we reached the place where the boat had been left. We wished to lighten the rafts by putting some of the cargo into the boat, but the current was so rapid that it was impossible to stop the rafts, so I got into the boat and ordered the canoe, which was well supplied with paddlers, to keep always ahead of the rafts and to look out for Indians in canoes, and also to warn us of our approach to any bad places.

I stayed in the boat behind taking care that the rafts should

keep ahead of me, for if any accident happened I could assist them by coming down stream to them better than I could by rowing up stream.

About sunset one of the rafts struck on a snag below the water and it was partly overturned, but the rush of water freed it again with the loss of about half its cargo. Keeping on our course about three hours after nightfall I heard ahead of us a great shouting of Indians, but so as not to leave the rafts behind me I did not go ahead to see what was the matter, however in a little while the noise ceased and was not heard again for a time. After a little while the noise was again heard and it seemed to be nearer and then it ceased; one could not find out what it meant as the canoe and three rafts had gone ahead while I stayed behind with the raft which did not travel so quickly. So going on our way a little less on the alert than before—for it was a long time since we had heard any shouts—I took off the helmet that I was wearing and rested my head on my arm, for I had a very bad attack of fever. As we were going on thus a sudden current seized us at a turn of the river, and with a force which we could not resist threw both the boat and the raft against the bank, and it was there it seemed to me that the shouts we had heard had come from, for the Indians knowing the river well, having been brought up on it, had kept a watch on us knowing that the current was bound to throw us there and were waiting for us in force at that place. As the canoe and the rafts which were ahead had struck where we afterwards struck, the Indians had shot arrows at them, and had wounded almost all the crews. Knowing that we were coming on behind they did not attack them as fiercely as they did us; the canoe had been unable to warn us of the danger as it was impossible for it to return against the stream. As we touched the bank the Indians raised a great shout and let fly such a shower of arrows and stones that we were all of us wounded: I myself was wounded in the head, the only part of me that was unprotected. It pleased God that the bank of the river was very steep, and it was owing to this that we were not captured, for those of the Indians who tried to jump down into the raft and boat did not jump straight, and as it was dark they fell into the river and I doubt if any of them were saved. The current carried us away from them so fast that in a short time we could hardly hear their cries; thus we travelled on

all night without more happening than a few shouts from canoes some distance off and an occasional cry from the banks of the river, for both banks are inhabited and there are beautiful orchards of cacao and other fruit trees.

At dawn we were five leagues from the mouth of the river where it opens into the lake where the launch was waiting for us, and we reached it that same day at midday, so that in one whole day and one night we travelled twenty long leagues down that river. When we began to unload the rafts, so as to store the provisions in the launch, we found that nearly all the provisions were damp, and, knowing that if they were not dried they would all be spoiled and all our labour lost, I had all that was dry picked out and stored on board the launch and placed what was damp in the two boats and two canoes and sent it as quickly as possible to the pueblo to have it dried there, for around the lake there was no place where it could have been dried owing to the inundations.

So the boats and canoes set off and I ordered them to be brought back as soon as possible to help me to carry my people, for the launch and the one canoe which was left were not able to hold them all. When the boats and canoes had departed I set sail, and went to the place where I was to meet those who were coming overland. On arrival there I waited three days, and at the end of that time they arrived all well with the exception of one Spaniard who, they said, had eaten certain herbs on the way and had died suddenly; they brought one Indian with them, who had been captured as he walked unsuspiciously into the pueblo where I had left them. As he differed from the people of that land both in speech and in dress, I questioned him partly by signs and partly through one of the Indian prisoners who understood him, and he said that he was a native of Teculutlan. When I heard the name of that pueblo it seemed to me that I had heard it before, and when I returned to the pueblo I looked up certain memoranda which I had with me and I found that it was true that I had heard the name mentioned, and it seems that from the place which I had reached to the South Sea, where I had stationed Pedro de Alvarado, there would not be more than seventy eight leagues to travel. According to these memoranda it would appear that a Spaniard from Pedro de Alvarado's company had been in that pueblo of Teculutlan, and this was confirmed by the Indian. I was delighted to know about that route.

When all the men had arrived, as the boats had not yet returned and we were eating up the small amount of food which had been kept dry, we all got on board the launch with much difficulty—for there was not room for all of us—with the idea of going across to the pueblo where we had first landed, for we had left the maize plants there with the grains well formed and as we had been away for twenty five days we expected to find much of it ready for use; and so it proved. As we were going along one morning in the middle of the lake we saw the boats coming, and so we went to the pueblo altogether. As soon as we touched land the whole of my party, Spaniards as well as friendly Indians and more than forty Indian prisoners, went together to the pueblo. There we found excellent maize plantations and much of the grain ripe, and no one there to defend it, so Christians and Indians every one of them made three journeys that day as the distance was short, and thus I loaded the launch and the boats and set off for the pueblo. I left behind me all my people to carry maize, and soon after sent back to them the two boats and one other which had been taken from a ship which had been lost on the coast while on its way to New Spain, and four canoes. All my people came back in them and brought much grain; this was such a great help to us that it repaid all the labour that it had cost, for had it not been for this maize we should without doubt all have died of hunger.

I had all the provisions put on board ship and at once embarked myself with all the people in the pueblo, that is those of Gil Gonzalez and those who had remained of my own company, and set sail on the — day of the month of —, and went to the port in the Bay of San Andrés.[1] First of all putting on shore on a point of land all the men who could walk, and two horses which I had brought with me in the ship, so that they could go by land by a road already known to us to the said port and bay, where we should find or await the people who were to come from Naco; it would have been impossible for these men and horses to have been taken in the ships without adding to the danger, for we were already too heavily laden. I sent a boat along the coast to ferry them across certain rivers which they would have to pass on the way. When I arrived at the port I found that the men

[1] Puerto Caballos.

from Naco had arrived there two days before me, and from them I learnt that all the others were well, and that they were fully supplied with maize, red peppers, and many fruits of the land, but that they had no meat or salt, and had not seen such things for two months.

I stayed at this port for twenty days, trying to arrange for the future of the people at Naco and looking for a site for a town, as this is the best port in all the known coast of Tierra-firme from the Gulf of Pearls to Florida, and it pleased God that I should find a good and suitable site. I had the streams examined, and though ill prepared for the task we found good samples of gold in a stream about two leagues from the site of the town. On account of this discovery, and because there was such a beautiful harbour and such a good and well peopled neighbourhood, it seemed to me that a settlement there would be of great service to your Majesty, so I sent to Naco where the people were, to know if any of them would like to settle at San Andrés, and as the land is good about fifty of them were willing, the majority being those who came in my company. So in your Majesty's name I founded here a town, and as the day on which we began to fell the trees was the feast of the nativity of Our Lady I gave that name to the town, and I also appointed Alcaldes and Regidores, and I left them clergy and church ornaments, and all that is necessary for the celebration of mass. I also left mechanics, such as a blacksmith with a very good forge, a carpenter, a shipwright, a barber and a tailor. There were amongst these settlers twenty horsemen and a few crossbowmen, and I left them some artillery and powder.

When first I arrived at this pueblo I heard from the Spaniards who had come from Naco that the natives of that pueblo and of the neighbouring pueblos were somewhat disturbed, and had left their houses for the hills and forests, and that although some of them had been reasoned with they refused to be pacified from fear of the treatment that they had received at the hands of the followers of Gil González and Cristóbal de Olid. I wrote to the Captain in charge there and told him to do all that he could to capture some of the natives by whatever means he could devise, and to send them to me so that I could speak to them and reassure them. This he did, and he sent me certain natives whom he had captured during an expedition

which he had undertaken, and I talked to them and gained their confidence, and let them talk with some of the native Chiefs from Mexico whom I had brought with me. These Chiefs told them who I was, what I had done in their country, and what good treatment they had received from me when once we were friends, and how they were protected and governed in justice—they and their property, their wives and children—and the punishment that those received who rebelled against the service of your Majesty, and many other things which they told them. After this they regained confidence, although they still told me that they had some fear that they were not being told the truth, for those Captains who had come in advance of me had told them the same things and more to the same effect, and that they had lied to them and had carried off their women whom they had sent to them to make bread, and that the men who accompanied them had been forced to carry loads, and they believed that I would do the same. Nevertheless, with the assurances which the Mexicans and the Interpreter whom I had with me gave them, and seeing those of my company happy and well treated, they were somewhat reassured. I sent them off to speak to the Chiefs and people of the pueblos, and in a few days the Captain at Naco wrote to me that some of the neighbouring pueblos had become peaceful, particularly the chief pueblos which are: Naco, where the Spaniards are residing, Quimiztlan, Sula, and Tholoma [Cheloma]—the smallest of these has more than two thousand houses—and other villages which were subject to them; and that the envoys said that the whole country would soon be at peace, for they had sent messengers to pacify the people, telling them of my arrival among them and all that I had said to them, and also what they had heard from the natives of Mexico; they added that they greatly desired that I would go to Naco, as my arrival there would give confidence to the people. This I would have done with good will, had it not been very necessary for me to continue my journey in order to arrange that which I shall explain to your Majesty in the following chapter.

When, Invincible Cæsar, I arrived at the pueblo of Nito, where I found the followers of Gil Gonzalez de Ávila abandoned and starving, I learnt from them that Francisco de las Casas, whom I had sent to find out about Cristóbal de Olid as I have already told your Majesty elsewhere, had left at a port which the pilots

call the Port of Honduras,[1] sixty leagues further down the coast, some Spaniards who had settled there, and soon after I arrived at this pueblo and bay of San Andrés, where there is founded in your Majesty's name the town of "La Natividad de Nuestra Señora," and whilst I was detained there, founding and settling the town, and arranging the affairs of the Captain and people who are settled at Naco, and deciding what should be done for the pacification and safety of the neighbourhood, I sent the ship, which I had purchased, to this Port of Honduras with orders to find out about the settlers there and to return with such information as could be obtained. I had already finished the arrangement of affairs when the vessel returned, and there came in her the Procurator of the town and one of the Regidores, and they begged me fervently to go to their assistance as they were in the greatest distress because the Captain whom Francisco de Las Casas had left with them, and an Alcalde also appointed by him, had gone off in a ship and taken with them fifty men out of the one hundred and ten settlers, and that from those left behind they had carried off all arms, tools, and almost everything that they possessed, so that they were in daily terror lest the Indians might massacre them or that they would be starved to death, as they had now no means of procuring food. They told me that a settler from the Island of Hispaniola called the Bachelor Pedro Moreno had brought a ship to them and they had prayed him to assist them, but this he would not do, as I learnt more fully when I went to their town. In order to put these matters right I embarked in the ships with the remainder of the sick, for some had already died, so as to get them out of the country, and later on I sent them to the Islands and to New Spain. I took with me some of my servants and I ordered twenty horsemen and ten crossbowmen to go by land, for I knew that the road was good, although there were some rivers which had to be crossed on the way. I was nine days making the passage, for we had some changes of weather, and on letting go the anchor in this Port of Honduras I got into a boat with two friars of the Order of Saint Francis, whom I have always taken with me, and ten of my servants, and went ashore. All the people of the pueblo were in the plaza waiting for me, and when I came near they all ran down into the water and

[1] Trujillo.

carried me ashore from the boat, showing in every way the greatest delight at my arrival. We then went together to the pueblo and to the church which they had built, and, after having returned thanks to God, the people asked me to be seated as they wished to give me an account of all that had happened, for they thought that I might be angry on account of some evil stories which had been told me, and they wished me to know the truth before I passed judgment upon them. I did as I was asked, and the priest whom they had chosen as spokesman made the following speech:—"Sir, you already know how all or the greater number of those present were sent from New Spain with your Captain Cristóbal de Olid to settle this country in the name of his Majesty, and to all of us you gave orders that we should obey this same Cristóbal de Olid as we would yourself in all matters which he should command us to do. So we set out with him for the Island of Cuba to procure some provisions and horses which we needed. On arriving at Havana, which is a port of that Island, letters were written to Diego Velásquez and the officials of his Majesty who reside in the Island, and who sent us some men.

"After taking in all the supplies needful, which were furnished us very plentifully by your servant Alonzo de Contreras, we set out and continued our journey. Passing over certain things, too long to relate, which happened on the way, we arrived on this coast 14 leagues below Puerto Caballos, and as soon as we landed the said Cristóbal de Olid took possession on behalf of your Excellency in the name of his Majesty, and founded a town with the Alcaides and Regidores who came from New Spain, and did certain acts respecting the possession and peopling of the town, all in your Honour's name and as your Captain and Lieutenant. A few days later he joined himself with some servants of Diego Velásquez, who had come with him, and went through certain formalities which showed disobedience to your Honour, and although this seemed wrong to some or rather the majority of us we did not venture to oppose it, as we were threatened with the gallows. On the contrary we consented to all that he wished, and even some relations and servants of your Honour who lived with him did the same, for they did not dare to do otherwise than to comply. When this was done, as he knew that certain followers of Gil González de Ávila had to pass by the place we

were in (this he knew from six messengers whom he had captured) he stationed himself at a ford in the river where they had to pass so as to take them prisoners, and he stayed there several days waiting for them. As however they did not come he left a detachment there under a Maestro de Campo, and he himself returned to the town and began to get ready two caravels which he had there, and also to place on board them artillery and ammunition so as to make a descent on a Spanish town which Gil González de Ávila had founded further up the coast. While he was getting this expedition in readiness Francisco de las Casas arrived with two ships, and as soon as Cristóbal de Olid knew who it was, he ordered his two ships to fire at him, and although the said Francisco de las Casas dropped his anchor and hoisted his flags of peace and cried out saying that he came from your Honour, Cristóbal de Olid told them not to cease firing, and ten or twelve more shots were fired, one of which struck the side of Francisco's ship and went right through it. When Las Casas saw these evil intentions and knew that the suspicion that he had of Cristóbal de Olid was true, he got out and manned his boats and began to make play with his guns, and captured the two caravels with all their guns, and the crews fled to the shore. As soon as his vessels were taken Cristóbal de Olid began to propose terms of peace, not with any intention of carrying them out but to gain time for the arrival of the men whom he had left posted in the hope of capturing the followers of Gil González, and he thought by so doing to deceive Las Casas, who with good will did all that was asked of him. Thus he went on treating with Las Casas without anything being settled until a severe gale began to blow, and as there was no harbour and only a rough coast the ships of Las Casas went ashore and thirty men were drowned and all the cargo lost.

"Francisco de las Casas and all that remained of his followers escaped naked, and so buffeted by the sea that they could hardly stand. Cristóbal de Olid took them all prisoners, and before he would allow them to enter the pueblo, he made them all swear on the Evangelists that they would obey him, and acknowledge him as their Captain, and never rebel against him. Close on this came the news that his Maestro de Campo had captured fifty seven of Gil González's men under an Alcaide Mayor, and that later on he had released them, they going in one direction and he in

another. Olid was greatly angered at this and at once went inland to the town of Naco, which he had already visited, taking Francisco de las Casas along with him and also some of those who had been captured with him. The remainder he left behind in that town with a Lieutenant and an Alcaide. Many times Francisco de las Casas begged Olid in the presence of us all to allow him to go and join your Honour and to give an account of all that had happened, or, if he would not permit him to go, that he would take good care of him and not trust him not to escape; Olid would however never give him leave to go. Shortly afterwards Olid heard that Gil González de Ávila was at a port called Tholoma attended by only a few men, so he sent some men there who fell upon Gil González by night and captured him and all the men with him, and brought them in as prisoners. He held both these Captains prisoners for many days without releasing them, although they often begged to be released, and he made all the followers of Gil González swear to acknowledge him as their Captain in the same way that he had done with those of Francisco de las Casas. Many times after the said Gil González was captured, Francisco de las Casas in the presence of all of us would beg Olid to release them, and said that if he would not do so he should be on his guard against them, for they would certainly kill him; he would not however let them go.

"At last, when Olid's tyranny was felt by all, these three Captains being together one night in a room discussing certain matters, with many people about them, Francisco de las Casas seized Olid by the beard, and thrust at him with a pen knife which he had in his hand—for he had been walking up and down cutting his nails and he had no other weapon—crying out "One cannot suffer this tyranny any longer" then Gil González and other servants of your Honour also fell on him and seizing the arms of his guard they wounded him, and the Captain of the Guard, the Alferez, the Maestro de Campo, and others who ran to his assistance; and they finally captured them all and took away their arms without any one being killed. Cristóbal de Olid escaped in the tumult and ran away and hid himself.

"Within two hours the two Captains had all of Olid's principal followers in custody, and the rest of the people pacified. It was then announced by the voice of the crier that whoever knew where Cristóbal de Olid lay hid should come and tell it, under

pain of death. The Captains soon found out where he lay concealed and seized him and placed him under guard. The following morning they put him on his trial and the two Captains together condemned him to death, and the sentence was carried out by striking off his head.

"The people were well pleased to regain their liberty, and the Captains issued a proclamation to the effect that all those who wished to stay and settle in the land should say so, and that likewise those who wished to go and settle in other parts should make known their wishes. It was found that one hundred and ten men were willing to settle on the land, and that the remainder said they preferred to accompany Francisco de las Casas and Gil González who were going to seek your Honour. Those who chose to remain are those who now live in this town, and among us there were twenty horsemen. Francisco de las Casas gave us everything in which we stood in need and appointed a Captain over us, and told us to come to this coast to form a settlement for your Honour in his Majesty's name. He also appointed Alcaldes and Regidores, a Notary, a Procurator of the Town Council, and an Alguacil. He told us to name the town Trujillo and he promised us, and gave us his word of honour as a gentleman, that he would see to it that your Honour before long should add other settlers to our number, and that you would supply us with arms, horses, stores, and all that was necessary for the pacification of the country. He left with us two interpreters, one an Indian woman and the other a Spaniard who knew the language well. So we parted from him to come and do what he had told us to do.

"Francisco de las Casas then despatched a brigantine to inform your Honour as quickly as possible of what had been done, for the news could be carried most rapidly by sea and therefore your Honour would succour us with less delay. When we arrived at the Port of San Andrés or Caballos we found a caravel which had come from the Islands, and as it did not seem to us that that port was a suitable place for a settlement, and as we had received information about the Port of Trujillo, we made arrangements with the caravel to carry our baggage, and we placed everything on board and the Captain and forty men embarked in her, and all the horsemen and others of our party remained on shore with only the clothes which we had on, so as to travel lightly and

freely in case anything should happen to us on the way. The Captain delegated his authority to one of the Alcaides, the same who is now present, and told us to obey him during the time that we were separated, for the other Alcaide went with the Captain in the caravel. So we parted from each other with the intention of meeting at this port. On the road we had some encounters with the natives, who killed two of the Spaniards and some of the Indians in our service. When we arrived at this Port ourselves, worn out and with our horses unshod, but happy at the thought that we should find our Captain, arms, and the baggage which we had sent in the caravel, we found absolutely nothing. We were in despair at thus finding ourselves without clothes, arms, or horseshoes, for the Captain had taken them all in the caravel and we were in the most desperate position, not knowing what to do. Finally we agreed to wait for succour from your Honour, for we felt sure that it would come. So we founded our town and took possession of the land for your Honour in the name of his Majesty. The foundation of the town was made by an official act before the Notary of the Cabildo, as your Honour can verify.

" Five or six days later at the break of day we descried a caravel anchored off the port at a distance of about two leagues, and an Alguacil went off at once in a canoe to find out what caravel it was. He brought us back news that it was under the command of the Bachelor Pedro Moreno, a resident of Hispaniola who came to these parts under the orders of the judges who live in that Island, to enquire into certain matters between Cristóbal de Olid and Gil González de Ávila, and that he had brought arms and plentiful supplies in the caravel, all of which belonged to his Majesty. We were all delighted at this news and gave thanks to God, thinking that we were saved from our perils. The Alcaide, Regidores, and some of the settlers set out at once for the caravel, to tell of our necessities and to beg that we might be supplied with what was needful. As soon as they arrived the people of the caraval armed themselves and would not allow any one of us to go on board ; the utmost that they would allow was that four or five of us should go on board without arms and it was thus that they went. Before anything else they announced that we were settled here by your Honour in the name of his Majesty, but as our Captain had gone off in a caravel with all

that we possessed we were in dire need of food, arms, and horse-shoes, as well as of clothes and other things, and that God seemed to have sent them here to our assistance as what they had on board belonged to his Majesty, and we begged and prayed them to succour us as that would be doing his Majesty a service, and besides we would undertake to pay for all that they gave to us.

"Pedro Moreno replied that he had not come here to succour us nor would he give us of what he possessed unless we paid him at once in gold, or gave natives of the land as slaves in exchange. Two merchants who had come in the ship with him, and a certain Gaspar Troche, an inhabitant of the Island of San Juan, told him that he ought to give us all that we asked for and that they would undertake to repay him at a fixed date what he might demand up to five or six hundred Castellaños; that he knew that they were good for the money and that they wished to do this as a service to his Majesty, and that they knew for certain that your Honour would repay them, and would be very grateful to them as well. Not even after this would Moreno let us have anything, on the contrary he dismissed us saying that he wanted to go on his way and turned us out of the caravel. He sent after us a certain Juan Ruano whom he had brought with him, a man who had been the chief factor in the treason of Cristóbal de Olid: this man spoke secretly to the Alcaide and Regidores and to some of us, and said to us that if we would do what he told us he would so manage that the Bachelor would give us all that we needed, and would so arrange with the Judges who reside in Hispaniola that we should pay nothing for what was given us; and that he would return to Hispaniola and arrange with the Judges to supply us with men, horses, arms, food, and everything that was needed, and that the said Bachelor would return with it all as soon as possible and with a commission, from the Judges, as our Captain. On our asking what it was that we were to do, he answered that the first thing of all was that we should refill the Royal offices which were held by the Alcaide, Regidores, Treasurer, Accountant, and Veedor, as they had been filled by men appointed by your Honour, and that we should ask the Bachelor to make him, Juan Ruano, our Captain, and that we should ask to be placed under the authority of the Judges and not under that of your Honour; that we should draw up a petition and should swear to obey him,

Juan Ruano, as our Captain; and that if any messengers or orders came from your Honour we would not obey them, and if force were employed that we should use arms to resist it.

"We answered that we could not do these things as we had already sworn to do otherwise, and that we were here as his Majesty's subjects in the name of your Honour as his Majesty's Captain and Governor, and that we could not do otherwise. Then Juan Ruano told us that we must either do as he wished or be left to die, for if we did not comply with his wishes the Bachelor would not give us so much as a cup of water, and that we might be quite sure that when he knew that we would not comply with his wishes he would go away and leave us to perish, and on this account he advised us to give the matter our full consideration.

"So we again consulted together and, forced by our dire necessity, we agreed to do all that he asked so as to escape starvation or massacre by the Indians, being as we were unarmed. So we answered Juan Ruano that we were content to do all that he asked. On this he returned to the caravel and the Bachelor came ashore with many armed men, and the said Juan Ruano had the petition drawn up in which we begged him to be our Captain, and the majority of us signed it and took the oath, and the Alcaides, Regidores, Treasurer, Accountant, and Veedor laid down their offices. The name was then taken from the town and it was renamed "Ascension," and certain acts were performed placing us under the judges instead of under your Honour, and then we were given all that we needed. Pedro Moreno then made an expedition and captured some Indians, whom he branded as slaves and carried them off with him, not even paying the Royal fifth due to his Majesty. He said that no Treasurer, Accountant, or Veedor need be appointed, to collect the Royal dues, except Juan Ruano, whom he left with us as our Captain, and who would receive them all himself without any necessity for book accounts or explanations. So Pedro Moreno departed leaving the said Juan Ruano as our Captain, and leaving us a certain form of injunction to be issued if any of your Honour's people should arrive, and promising us that he would speedily return with such a force that none would be able to resist him.

"After he had gone away we, seeing that what had been done was not to the advantage of his Majesty and would only lead to

fresh scandals, took the said Juan Ruano prisoner and sent him to the Islands, and the Alcaide and Regidores took up their offices as before and we have been and still are under the authority of your Honour in his Majesty's name, and we beg you, Sir, to pardon us our deeds in the time of Cristóbal de Olid, for then as on this other occasion we were compelled by force."

I replied to them that I pardoned in your Majesty's name all past acts under Cristóbal de Olid, and that in what they had done since they were not to blame, for they had been forced to it by necessity: but that from this time on they must not be the authors of such like occurrences or scandals, as they were displeasing to your Majesty, and that in future they would be punished for them. In order that they might feel sure that I had forgotten and blotted out from my memory their past deeds, and so as to assure them that, if they behaved as loyal servants of your Majesty, I would help them as much as lay in my power, I would now in your Majesty's name confirm in their offices the Alcaide and municipal officers whom Francisco de las Casas as my lieutenant had appointed on my authority. At this they were well pleased, as it freed them from all fear of enquiry into their past faults.

As they assured me that the Bachelor Pedro Moreno with many men and with authority from the Judges of Hispaniola would soon arrive, I did not at this time wish to leave the Port to go into the interior of the country, but from information given me by the settlers I learnt that there were some native pueblos six or seven leagues distant from the Port, and that when the settlers had been hunting for food they had skirmished with the inhabitants of these pueblos. However it was thought that if an interpreter could be found, so that they could understand one another, these Indians would come to terms, for they showed signs of good will although the settlers had not behaved well to them; on the contrary they had captured some women and boys, whom the Bachelor Moreno had branded and carried off in his ship.

God knows how this weighed on me, for I knew the great harm that would follow from it, so by the ships which I despatched I wrote to those Judges and sent them full proof of all that the Bachelor had done in this town, and with it an official letter

requiring them in your Majesty's name to send me here the Bachelor as a prisoner well guarded, and with him all the natives of this land whom he had carried off as slaves; for his acts were contrary to all law as they would see from the evidence that I was sending them. I do not know what they will do in this matter, but whatever their reply may be I will report it to your Majesty.

Two days after my arrival at this Port and town of Trujillo I sent a Spaniard who spoke the language, with three Indians of Culua, to those towns about which the settlers had spoken to me, and I impressed on the Spaniard and the Indians what to say to the Chief and people of those pueblos, and especially to make it known that it was I myself who had come to this country; for owing to the considerable traffic which exists in many of these places they have heard of me and Mexican affairs through the traders. Among the first of the towns that they visited was one called Chapagua and another called Papayeca, seven leagues distant from Trujillo and two from the one to the other. They are towns of importance as has been proved since, for Papayeca has eighteen pueblos subject to it and Chapagua ten. It pleased our Lord who takes especial care to guide your Majesty's officers, as we learn by experience every day, that the natives listened to the embassy with much attention, and sent back with the messengers some of their own men to see for certain that what had been told them was true. When they came I gave them a good reception and a few trifling presents, and I spoke to them through the interpreter whom I had brought with me, for the language of Culua and that spoken here were almost the same, differing only in a few words and in pronunciation. I confirmed what had been said to them on my behalf, and told them other things which it seemed to me would give them confidence, and I begged them to ask their chiefs to come and see me; they left me well contented.

Five days later there came to me on behalf of the people of Chapagua a person of importance named Montamal, Chief of one of the pueblos subject to Chapagua named Telica, and on behalf of the people of Papayeca came the chief of another subject pueblo named Cecoatl, and some of its inhabitants, and they brought supplies of maize, poultry, and fruit, and told me that they came on behalf of their Chief to learn what I wanted and the cause of my coming to their country; and they added that the Chiefs would

not come to see me as they were in fear of being carried off in the ships—a thing which had happened to those who were captured by the first Christians who came here. I told them how much I regretted that act, and that they might feel sure from now on no harm should be done to them; on the contrary I would send and seek for those who had been carried away and would have them brought back. Pray God that those lawyers will not make me break my word, but I am in great fear that they will not send them back but will find some excuse for acquitting the said Bachelor Moreno, who carried them into slavery, of all blame; for I cannot believe that anything which he did here was done without instructions from them and not at their commands. In reply to what the messengers had asked me regarding the cause of my coming to this land, I told them that I believed they had already heard how eight years ago I had come to the Province of Culua, and how Montezuma, who was at that time Lord of the great City of Tenochtitlan and of all the country round, was informed by me that I had been sent by your Majesty, to whom all the world was subject, to visit and examine these countries in your Excellency's Royal name, and had at once given me a good reception and had recognised what was due to your Greatness, and that all the other chiefs in the land had done the same. I also gave them an account of all the other things which had happened in Mexico, such as seemed to me to be appropriate to the occasion, and I told them that I had received your Majesty's commands to visit and examine the whole country, omitting none of it, and also to establish towns of Christians to instruct them how they should order their lives, both for the preservation of their persons and property, and for the salvation of their souls; and that this was the reason of my coming, and that they might feel sure that great advantages and no harm would arise from it. That those who were obedient to your Majesty's Royal commands would be well treated and maintained in justice, but that those who rebelled against them would be chastised. I told them much more to the same effect, but so as not to trouble your Majesty with too long a letter, and as it is not of great importance, I will not relate it here. I gave as presents to the messengers some small articles which they think much of, although they are of little value to us, and they went off very happily and returned some days afterwards, as I had asked

them to do, with supplies of food and men to fell trees on the site of the town, for it was covered with thick forest. The Chiefs however did not come to see me, but I took no notice of this as though it was a matter of no importance, but I asked them to send messages to all the neighbouring pueblos to report what I had said to them and to ask them on my behalf to come and help to build the town. This they did, so that in a few days' time people from fifteen or sixteen pueblos arrived, or rather I should say from fifteen or sixteen lordships in the neighbourhood. All showed signs of good will and offered themselves as subjects and vassals to your highness, and they came in sufficient numbers both to supply us with food on which we could live until the ships which I had sent to the islands could bring us stores, and to clear the forest from the site of the town.

At this time I despatched three ships and later on I bought and despatched another which had arrived in Port, and in them I sent all the sick and wounded who had remained alive. One of these ships sailed for the ports of New Spain, and I wrote fully to your Majesty's officers whom I had left there in my place, and to all the councils giving them an account of what I had done here and telling them how necessary it was for me to stay for some time longer in these parts; begging them to be steadfast in their duty and giving my advice about certain matters where it was needed. I gave orders that this vessel should go by way of the Island of Cosumel and should bring thence some Spaniards whom a certain Valenzuela, who had made off with the ship and robbed the town which Cristóbal de Olid had first founded, had left abandoned there, and were said to be more than sixty persons. The other ship which I bought later [in a small bay near the town] I sent to the Island of Cuba to the town of Trinidad, to bring meat, horses and men and to return as soon as possible. The other vessel I sent to the Island of Jamaica for the same purpose. The caravel and the launch which I built I sent to the Island of Hispaniola, with a servant of mine in it by whom I wrote to your Majesty and to the lawyers who live there. As it afterwards appeared not one of these vessels made the voyage which I had ordered: the ship which should have gone to Trinidad in Cuba went to the port of Guaniguanico and they had to send fifty leagues by land to the town of Havana to look for cargo. It was the first to return, and when it arrived it brought me news

that the ship which had gone to New Spain had taken the people from the Island of Cosumel and had afterwards gone ashore on the Island of Cuba at the point called San Antonio or Corientes; everything on board had been lost and the Captain, a cousin of mine named Avalos, and two Franciscan friars who had been with me, and over thirty other persons whose names they brought me, had been drowned. Those who escaped to land wandered about in the forest not knowing whither they were going, and almost all had died of hunger, so that out of more than eighty persons only fifteen remained alive. By good fortune the survivors had reached the port of Guaniguanico, where the other ship of mine was at anchor, and where there was a farm of a settler from Havana, whence my ships were being loaded; for there were plentiful supplies there, and there those who had survived were cared for. God knows how deeply I felt this loss, for besides losing kindred and servants I lost many corselets, guns, and crossbows, not to mention other arms which were in the ship. I regretted above all that my despatches had not reached their destination, and this your Majesty will understand later on. The other ship which should have gone to Jamaica, and that which should have gone to Hispaniola, got to Trinidad in the Island of Cuba and there they found the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo whom I had left as a Justicia Mayor, and one of the Governors of New Spain. There was also in the port a ship which the lawyers who reside in Hispaniola had despatched to New Spain to verify the news of my death which was current there and when the Captain of this ship heard about me he changed his destination and brought me thirty two horses, some saddlery, and some stores of food, thinking to sell them better where I was living. By this ship the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo wrote to tell me that there were many scandals and disturbances among the officials of your Majesty in New Spain, and that the report had been spread abroad that I was dead; that two of the officials had proclaimed themselves Governors and had made the people swear allegiance to them, and had taken the same Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo and two other officials prisoners, as well as Rodrigo de Paz to whom I had left the charge of my house and estate, which they had plundered. That they had turned out of office the two judges whom I had appointed and installed others of their own party in their places, and he told me of many other things

which they had done, but it is a long story, and as I send your Majesty the letters in the original, so that you may see them, I will not repeat them here.

Your Majesty may imagine what I felt at hearing this news, especially at hearing how these people were requiting my services, robbing my house as a reward, even if it were true that I was dead. They even said to give colour to their acts that I owed your Majesty over sixty thousand gold dollars, and they know well that it is not the case; on the contrary I am owed more than one hundred and fifty thousand gold dollars which I have spent, and not spent amiss, in the service of your Majesty.

I at once began to consider how I could right this wrong. On the one hand it seemed to me that I had better put myself on board that ship and go and correct and punish such insolence, for all there seemed to think that when holding office abroad "Si no hacen befa no portan penacho." Just in the same way another Captain whom the Governor Pedro Arias sent to Nicaragua also revolted from his obedience, as I will tell your Majesty more fully later on. On the other hand it grieved me to leave the country I was visiting in the circumstances then affecting it, for that would be to ensure its ruin, and I feel certain that your Majesty will draw great profit from it and that it will prove a second Culua, for I have received information of great and rich provinces under the rule of powerful Chiefs, especially of a province named Eneitapalan,[1] in another language called Xucutaco, which I have heard about for the last six years, and throughout my journey I have come in the direction in which it lies, and I now hear for certain that it is only eight or ten days' journey from the town of Trujillo, that is to say fifty or sixty leagues distant.

About this place there are such reports that one wonders at the stories told, even if two thirds of them be false, such as that it is much richer than Mexico and equals it in the grandeur of its pueblos and the number and civilization of its people. So, being in this state of perplexity, I bethought me that nothing could be well done and well planned if it is not done by the hand of the Doer and Planner of all things, so I ordered masses to be said and processions and other sacrifices to be made, praying God to

[1] Hueitapalan in other copies.

set me on the road which would lead best to his service. After this had continued for some days it seemed to me that I ought to postpone all else, and go to repair the damage which had been done. So I left in that town thirty five horsemen and fifty foot, and in charge of them as my lieutenant I left a cousin of mine named Hernando de Saavedra, brother of Juan de Avalos who died in the ship which was coming to this city. After giving him his instructions and preparing everything as well as I could for his government, and after saying farewell to those native chiefs who had come to visit me, I went on board the ship with my household servants and I sent to tell the people of Naco to go overland by the route which Francisco de las Casas had taken, that is by the South coast, so as to come out where Pedro de Alvarado is stationed, for that road was already well known and safe, and they were a large enough party to travel anywhere without danger. I sent to the other town of Natividad de Nuestra Señora instructions for the people there to follow them. After this I embarked in good weather but after having the last anchor weighed the breeze dropped so that we could not start.

Next morning news reached the ship that among the people left in the town there was some grumbling from which trouble might arise as soon as I had gone; so on this account and because it was not weather for sailing I went on shore again and made enquiries, and after I had punished some of the ringleaders everything settled down quietly. I was two days on shore as there was no wind to carry us out of the harbour, and on the third day, the weather being favourable, I went on board and set sail, and after sailing two leagues and doubling the point which runs out on one side of the harbour, the main yard broke and I was obliged to return to port for repairs. I was there another three days repairing and then set out again in very good weather, which continued for two nights and one day, but after making over fifty leagues we were struck by a heavy Norther, right in our teeth, which carried away the mizzen mast near the mast head, and we were compelled to run for port, which was done with much difficulty. On our arrival in port we all gave thanks to God, for it had seemed as though we must be lost.

I and all those with me arrived so worn out that some rest was

necessary, so while the weather was settling and the ship was being repaired I landed with all my people. Seeing that after going to sea three times in good weather I was each time turned back I began to think that it was not the will of God that I should leave this country, and I thought this the more because some of the Indians who had been peacefully disposed were now giving trouble. I therefore turned again and commended myself to God and ordered processions to be made and masses to be said, and I came to the conclusion that by sending in that ship, in which I had intended to go to New Spain, full powers from me to my cousin Francisco de las Casas, and by writing to the Councils and Officials of your Majesty reprimanding them for their mistakes, and also by sending some of the Indian Chiefs that were with me so that the natives might know for certain that I was not dead as had been reported, all might yet be set right, and an end put to the troubles which had begun in Mexico. I therefore made my arrangements but omitted to provide for many things which I should have provided for, had I known at that time of the loss of the first ship which I had despatched. These omissions were owing to my already having given very full instructions which should have been received many days before; in particular this was the case with regard to the despatch of ships to the South Sea, for which instructions had been sent in the ship which was lost. After sending off this ship to New Spain, as I was suffering from the hardships which I had endured at sea, and am suffering from them still, I was not able to make any journeys inland, and as I had also to await the arrival of the ships coming from the Islands and had many other matters to attend to, I sent the lieutenant, whom I had left in charge of the town, with thirty horsemen and some others on foot to make an expedition into the country. They travelled thirty five leagues from the town through a beautiful valley with many large pueblos in it, abounding in all the products of the country and well suited for rearing cattle and for the cultivation of all our own plants. They had no hostile encounters with the natives, and by talking to them through an interpreter and through those natives of the country who were already on friendly terms with us, they gained their goodwill, and more than twenty Chiefs of the principal pueblos came to visit me, and with every evidence of being well disposed offered themselves as subjects to your Highness, promising obedience to your

Royal commands; and these promises they have kept and still keep, and up to the day of my departure I was never without some of them in my company, as they were coming and going every day, bringing supplies of food and doing everything that we asked them to do. May it please God so to keep them that they may come to that state and condition which your Majesty desires and which I believe they will attain, for from such a good beginning one cannot look for a bad ending unless it should come from the fault of those who have charge of them.

The Province of Papayeca and that of Chapagua had been as I have said, the first to offer themselves for your Majesty's service and to become our friends nevertheless it was they who began to give trouble when I embarked: on my return they were somewhat scared, and I sent messengers to them to restore their confidence Some of those of Chapagua came in, but they were not chiefs, and the women and children left their pueblos and carried off their property although some men were left behind and came to our town to work. I made many appeals to them to return to their own pueblos but they would never come, but answered saying "Not to day but to morrow." I managed to lay hands on their Chiefs, who are three in number, one called Thicohuytl, another called Poto, and the third Mendereto, and made them prisoners and gave them a certain time within which I told them that their people must leave the mountains and come back to their pueblos, and I made them understand that should they not do so they would be chastised as rebels. The people returned to their homes and I released the Chiefs, and now they are peaceably settled and work very well. The people of Papayeca never wished to come back, particularly their Chiefs, and all their people remained in the forest with them and left their pueblos desolate, and although many efforts were made to persuade them to do so they never cared to come under our rule. So I sent among them a company of horse and foot accompanied by many Indians who were natives of the country. One night they surprised one of the two Chiefs of the country, whose name was Pizacura, and took him prisoner. On my asking him why he continued hostile and did not wish to come under our rule, he said that he would have already come in had it not been for his companion named Mazatl, who had the larger following and who would not consent to it. He said that if we would free him he would act as

a spy and help us to capture Mazatl, and that if he were hanged the people would be pacified and return to their pueblos, for he could collect them if Mazatl were not there to oppose him. So he was released, and this was the cause of more harm as has since been found out. Certain friendly Indians, natives of that country, spied out the said Mazatl and guided some Spaniards to his hiding place, where they captured him: when Mazatl was told what his companion Pizacura had said of him, and was also told that within a certain named time his people must leave the mountains and return to live in their houses, he refused to accept any terms, so he was put on his trial and sentenced to death, which sentence was carried out on his person. It was a great lesson to the others, and at once some of the people from pueblos which were disposed to revolt returned to their houses, and there is now no pueblo which is not settled, with women and children living in it, except that of Papayeca, which has never been resettled. After Pizacura was released a suit was instituted against the tribe, and war was made on them and about a hundred prisoners was taken, who were enslaved, and among them Pizacura himself was captured. I did not wish to sentence him to death although, in accordance with the suit brought against him, I could have done so, I preferred to take him with me to the City of Tenochtitlan, together with two other Chiefs of other pueblos, which had been somewhat rebellious, in order that they might see how matters are managed in New Spain, and then to send them home again so that they might tell their countrymen how natives are treated there and how they serve us, so that they might follow their example. Pizacura died of an illness, but the other two Chiefs are well and I will send them home on the first opportunity. With the capture of this man and of another who seemed to be his natural heir, and with the punishment inflicted by enslaving over one hundred prisoners, all that Province was made secure, and when I left all the pueblos were inhabited, settled, and divided among the Spaniards, and appeared to serve them with good will.

At this time there arrived at that town of Trujillo a Captain and about twenty men, some of them belonging to the Company which I had left in Naco under Gonzalo de Sandoval, while the others were of the Company of Francisco Hernández, a Captain

whom Pedro Arias de Ávila, your Majesty's Governor, had sent to the Province of Nicaragua, from whom I learnt that there had arrived at Naco a Captain of the said Francisco Hernández with about forty men, both horse and foot, who were on their way to the port in the Bay of San Andrés to seek the Bachelor Pedro Moreno, whom the Judges who reside in the Island of Hispaniola had sent to these parts as I have already told your Majesty. It appears that Pedro Moreno had written to the said Francisco Hernández advising him to rebel against the Governor, as he had already done to the people who were left behind by Gil González and Francisco de las Casas, and that this Captain was coming to speak to him on behalf of the said Francisco Hernández, and to consult with him about shaking off his allegiance to the Governor and transferring it to the Judges who reside in the Island of Hispaniola; for so it appears from certain letters which they were carrying. I sent them back at once and wrote to Francisco Hernández and to all the people who were with him, and particularly to some of the Captains of his Company who were known to me, reprimanding them for their breach of faith and pointing out how that Bachelor had deceived them, and how badly your Majesty was served by such conduct, and other things which I thought proper to write to them in order to lead them away from the wrong path which they were taking. Because one of the reasons which they gave as warranting their proposal was that the said Pedro Arias de Ávila was so far away that to provide themselves with the necessaries of life was a great trouble and expense, and that they were still ill provided for and were always in great need of provisions and other things from Spain; and that from those ports which I had founded in your Majesty's name they could obtain them more easily; and that the Bachelor had written to them that he had left all that coast settled under the authority of the Judges and was coming back himself immediately with many men and plentiful supplies—I wrote to him that I would leave orders at those pueblos that they should be supplied with all the things that they might send for, and that they should be treated on a friendly footing in matters of business, and that one and all we were and are your Majesty's vassals and in your Royal service and that they were to understand that this offer was made on condition that they remained obedient to their Governor, as they

were bound to do, and on no other condition whatever. As they told me that at the present time their greatest want was shoes for their horses and tools for mining, I gave them two mules of my own laden with horseshoes and iron tools and then sent them off. When they arrived where Gonzalo de Sandoval was stationed he gave them two more mules of mine, laden with horseshoes which I had stored there.

As soon as these men had departed there came to me some natives of the Province of Huilacho, which is sixty five leagues from this town of Trujillo, from whom I had received messages some time before offering themselves as your Majesty's vassals. They told me that twenty horsemen and forty men on foot had arrived in their country with many Indians from other Provinces whom they brought as friends, and that they had received insults and damage at their hands, and that their wives, children, and property had been seized by them; and they prayed me to assist them as they had offered themselves as my friends, and I had promised to support and defend them against anyone that did them harm. Soon after this Hernando de Sandoval, my cousin, whom I had appointed my lieutenant in these parts, who was at that time pacifying the Province of Papayeca, sent me two men of the company against whom these Indians had come to lodge their complaint. They said they were coming at their Captain's orders to search for this town of Trujillo, and that the Indians had told them that it was near and that they could come without fear as all the country was at peace. From these men I learnt that they were of the Company of Francisco Hernández and that they came in search of this port, and that they had as Captain Gabriel de Rojas. I at once despatched with these two men, and the Indians who had come to complain, and an Alguacil with an order to the said Gabriel de Rojas to leave the Province at once, and to restore to the natives all the men, women, and goods, which had been taken from them, and in addition to this I wrote him a letter saying that if he were in need of anything he should let me know as I would willingly let him have it if I had it to give. When Gabriel de Rojas read the letter and received my orders he at once obeyed them and the natives of the Province became quite contented, although some time afterwards the same Indians returned to tell me that after the departure of the Alguacil whom I had sent with them

some of their people had been carried off as prisoners. I wrote again to Francisco Hernández offering, if it were in my power, to supply him with anything that he or his people were in need of—for I thought that that would be doing good service to your Majesty—and enjoining on him obedience to his Governor. I do not know what took place there later on, I only know from the Alguacil whom I sent there, and from those who went with him, that when they were all there together a letter reached Gabriel de Rojas from his Captain, Francisco Hernández, in which he begged him to join him in all haste, as there was much dissension among the men who had remained with him, and that two of his Captains had risen against him, one named Soto and the other Andrés Garabito, who said that they had risen against him because they knew that he wished to shake off his obedience to the Governor. Affairs were in such a condition that misfortune was bound to follow both to the Spaniards and to the Natives, and your Majesty can judge how great is the evil which follows from these discords, and how necessary it is to punish those who cause and promote them.

I wished to go at once to Nicaragua, hoping to put matters right, as it would have been a great service to your Majesty if I had been able to accomplish it, and as I was making my preparations, and having a road opened through a rather rough pass, the ship which I had sent to New Spain arrived at the Port of Trujillo, having on board a cousin of mine, a friar of the Order of San Francisco called Brother Diego Altamirano, from whom and from the letters which he brought me I heard of the many disturbances, scandals, and dissensions, which had occurred and were occurring among the officers of your Majesty whom I had left in my place, and of the great need that there was for my returning to put a stop to them. On this account I gave up my journey to Nicaragua and my return by the Southern coast, where I think that God and your Majesty might have been well served on account of the many and great Provinces which lie on the road, and although some of them are at peace they could have been better organized in your Majesty's service by my passing through them, especially those of Utatlan and Guatemala where Pedro de Alvarado is stationed, and where, since they rebelled against certain illtreatment which they received, they have never been pacified; on the contrary they have done and are doing

much damage to the Spaniards who are settled there and to the friendly Indians in the neighbourhood. It is a rough country and the people are numerous, brave, and cunning in warfare, and they have invented many methods both of offence and defence, such as pits and other ingenious devices for killing horses, and they have succeeded in killing many of them. So skilfully do they fight that although Pedro de Alvarado has made war on them, and is still waging it, with more than two hundred horsemen and five hundred foot soldiers and five thousand and at times as many as ten thousand friendly Indian allies, he has never been able to bring his foes into obedience to your Majesty and is not yet able to do so; on the contrary every day they fortify their positions more strongly and recruit their ranks with new comers. I believe however that, had God been willing I should go there, by persuasion or by some other method I could bring them to a right way of thinking, for in some Provinces which revolted on account of the illtreatment received during my absence, and against whose people over one hundred horse and three hundred foot with much artillery and a great number of Indian allies have been sent under the command of the Veedor, who was acting as Governor, nothing could be done; on the contrary ten or twelve Spaniards and many friendly Indians were killed and no good was effected. Yet on my sending a messenger to say that I was coming, when they heard news of my arrival, without the least delay the chief personages of the province which is called Coatlan came to see me and told me the cause of their rising which was quite a just one, for the Spaniards who held them in encomienda had burnt eight of their Chiefs, of whom five had died at once and the others a few days afterwards, and when the people demanded justice it was not given to them. I consoled them in a way which left them contented and they are now peaceably settled and render their services, as they did before I left Mexico, without fighting or any other risk. The same thing I think will happen to some other pueblos in the same condition in the Province of Coatzacoalcos, for on hearing of my return to this country they will become peaceable again without my even having to send a messenger to them.

Already most Catholic Lord, I have told your Majesty about certain Islands, which are opposite the Port of Honduras, called "Los Guanajos," and how some of them are deserted

because the fleets which have visited them have carried off many of the Natives as slaves, and how in some of them there still remain some Natives. Now I learnt that, from the Islands of Cuba and Jamaica, a new expedition was being prepared against them, to carry off the remainder of the Natives and to pillage and destroy them. In order to put a stop to this I sent a caravel to seek out the ships of this expedition at the Islands, and to order them in your Majesty's name not to proceed against or to do any harm to the Natives, as I intended to settle them peaceably and bring them under obedience to your Majesty; for by means of some of the Natives who had come over to live on the mainland I had come to an understanding with them. The caravel came upon one of the ships of the expedition commanded by Rodrigo de Merlo at one of the Islands called Huitila, and the Captain of the caravel brought him with him, and also his crew and all the people whom they had captured in the Island, to the place where I was living. I at once had the Natives carried back to the Islands where they had been captured, but I did not proceed against the Captain as he produced a licence for his proceedings signed by the Governor of the Island of Cuba; power to grant such licences having been given by the lawyers who reside in Hispaniola. So I dismissed him and his crew without other punishment than taking away from them the Natives whom they had captured for slaves in the Islands The Captain and the greater number of those who came in his company remained as settlers in these towns, as the land seemed to them to be good.

When the Chiefs of those Islands knew of the good deed that I had done for them, and heard from the Natives of Tierra-firme the good treatment that I had accorded to them, they came to me and thanked me for my kindness and offered themselves as subjects and vassals of your Highness, and begged to know in which way they could serve you. In your Majesty's name I ordered them to plant many corn fields for in truth they can be of no use in any other way, and they carried to each Island a written notification for any Spaniards who might come there, in which I assured them in the name of your Majesty that they should not in any way be molested. The people begged me to send them some Spaniards, one to be stationed on each Island, but on account of my approaching departure I could not arrange

for this but left orders with my Lieutenant Hernando de Saavedra to see to it.

I embarked in the ship which had brought me the news from Mexico, and in it and in two other vessels which I had there I embarked some of those men whom I had brought in my company, amounting to twenty men and horses, and of the rest some of my followers remained as settlers in those towns and others were awaiting me on the road, believing that I would return by land. To them I sent orders that they should return to Mexico, telling them of my departure and of the cause of it. Up to the present they have not arrived but I have news of their coming.

Having settled matters in those towns which I had founded in your Majesty's name, with the greatest grief and regret at not being able to finish my work and leave them in a condition in which I should like to see them, on the 25th April I put out to sea with those three ships and the weather was so favourable that in four days I found myself within one hundred and fifty leagues of the Port of Chalchicuela. There a heavy gale struck us and we could make no headway; thinking that it would subside I kept the sea for a day and a night, but the weather was so bad that it began to damage the ships and I was obliged to bear away for the Island of Cuba, and in six days reached the Port of Havana, where I went ashore and was well received by the inhabitants of that town; for there were among them many of my old friends whom I knew when I was living in the Island.

As the ships in which we had come had suffered from the bad weather at sea it was necessary to overhaul them, and this detained me ten days. In order to hasten my journey I bought another ship which was in port being careened, and I left behind the ship in which I had come as it was leaking badly.

The day after my arrival at that port a ship came from New Spain and the next day another arrived and on the third day still another, and from them I learnt that the city had settled down into peace and tranquillity after the death of the Factor and Veedor, although I was told that there had been some riots for which the ringleaders had been punished. I was delighted to hear this news for I had been very much distressed at having to turn aside when on the way to Mexico and it had caused me much uneasiness.

From Havana I wrote a short letter to your Majesty and then put to sea on the 16th May, and I took with me about thirty natives of Mexico, whom the ships (which had arrived in Havana) had brought here secretly, and in eight days I arrived off the Port of Chalchicuela, but I could not go into harbour because of the change in the weather and so I anchored two leagues off the shore. Towards evening we set out in the ship's boats and in a brigantine which we had found abandoned at sea, and I got on shore that night and went on foot to the town of Medellin, four leagues from where we landed, without any one of the town knowing of our arrival. I went at once to the church to give thanks to God, and when this was known the towns-people came and rejoiced with me and I with them. That night I despatched messengers both to the City of Mexico and to all the towns in the land, telling them of my coming and arranging certain matters which it seemed to me would promote the service of your Majesty and the good of the country.

Resting from the fatigues of the journey I stayed in that town eleven days, and there came to me many of the Chiefs of pueblos and other natives of those parts, who expressed delight at my return, and then I set out for this City and was fifteen days on the road. All the way I received visits from large numbers of natives, some of whom came more than eighty leagues to see me, for all had couriers stationed at intervals on the road so as to be warned of my arrival and be awaiting me; so that they arrived very quickly from all parts and great distances to greet me, and they were moved to tears as I was also. They made many pitiful speeches, telling me of the troubles they had suffered in my absence and the illtreatment that they had received, so that it wrung the hearts of all those who heard them. As it would be difficult to give your Majesty an account of all that they told me, though some of the stories are well worthy of being written down, I will leave them to be told by word of mouth. When I arrived at the City, the Spanish settlers and the natives from all parts of the country who had come together received me with great signs of happiness and rejoicings, as though I had been their own father. Your Majesty's Treasurer and Accountant came out to meet me, with many people on horse and on foot in procession, showing the same good will as the others had done. Thus we proceeded to the church and monastery of

San Francisco to give thanks to God for having safely brought me through so many dangers and hardships to a haven of rest, and permitting me to see this land, which was torn by dissensions, restored to peace and order.

I stayed with the friars for six days, confessing my sins to God. Two days before leaving the monastery a messenger came from the town of Medellin to tell me that certain ships had arrived in port, and that it was said that on board of one of them there was a Judge of Enquiry who had come at your Majesty's commands. The messenger could tell me no more about the matter and I therefore thought that, hearing of the dissensions which had occurred amongst the officers whom I had left in charge of the country and not knowing of my return to Mexico, your Majesty had sent to enquire into matters. God knows how rejoiced I was to hear of it, for it would be most painful for me to be the judge in this case; for as I have myself suffered personally and my property has been destroyed by the acts of these tyrants, I believe that whatever judgment I should give would be thought by the evil-minded to be dictated by passion, which is a thing I most detest, although judging by my acts I could not be so much moved by passion as to make it possible for me to punish them in excess of their faults. On receipt of this news I at once despatched a messenger to the port to ascertain the truth, and to order the Lieutenant and Justices of the town of Medellin that, in whatever capacity that Judge might be coming, as he came at your Majesty's commands he should be properly received, and lodged and entertained in a house which I own in that town, whither I sent orders that everything should be put at the disposal of the Judge and of his followers; but I afterwards learnt that he did not wish to receive such attentions.

The day after the despatch of this messenger was the feast of St John, and as we were keeping holiday, watching bullfights jousting with reeds, and [holding] other games, another messenger arrived, bringing me a message from the said Judge and one from your Sacred Majesty, from which I learnt the reason of his coming and how your Sacred Majesty had sent him to make enquiry into my acts during the time that your Majesty had been trusting me with the government of this country. At this I was truly delighted, both at the great mercy vouchsafed to

me by your Sacred Majesty wishing to be informed of my services and my faults, and at the benignity with which your Highness let me know in your letter your Royal intention and willingness to grant me grace, for the one and the other I kiss the royal feet of your Catholic Majesty a hundred thousand times, and may it please God to turn to His use the great honour done me, and that I may deserve even a small part of the mercies granted me in that your Catholic Majesty should know my wishes, for the fact that you knew my wishes would in itself be to me no small reward.

In the letter that Louis Ponce, Judge of Residencia, wrote to me, he told me that he was leaving for this City immediately, and as there are two principal roads by which it can be approached, and he did not tell me in his letter by which he would come, I at once sent out along each of the roads servants of mine to attend on him, accompany him, and show him the way. But so great was the haste with which Louis Ponce travelled that although I made these arrangements with all speed my servants met him only twenty leagues from the City, and although my messengers say that he expressed pleasure at seeing them he would not accept their services. I regretted his not accepting them for he had real need of them on account of the rapidity with which he travelled; on the other hand I was pleased, for it showed him to be a just man who wished to exercise his office in an upright manner, and as he was coming to take my Residencia did not wish to give any cause for suspicions. Arriving within two leagues of the City he slept there that night, and I made preparations for his reception on the following morning. He sent to tell me that I should not come out to meet him in the morning as he wished to stay there to dine; he asked me to send him a chaplain to say mass. This I did, but suspecting (as it proved to be) an excuse to avoid a public reception I was on my guard, but he was up so early in the morning that although I wasted no time I met him when he was already within the City, and we went together to the monastery of San Francisco to hear mass.

When mass was over I told him that if he would like to exhibit his commission he could do so, for all the Municipal Officers of the City were there present with me, as were also your Majesty's Treasurer and Accountant. However he did not wish to present

his commission, saying that he would defer it to another day, and so it happened that the next day in the morning we all came together in the Cathedral, all the Municipal Officers, your Majesty's Officers, and myself, and there the commission was presented and by me and by all the officials was accepted, kissed, and placed on our heads as orders of our King and natural Chief, to be obeyed and fulfilled in their entirety and by all, as your Sacred Majesty sent them to us to be treated. Then all the wands of office were laid down and all the other formalities complied with, as your Catholic Majesty may learn from the detailed account sent by the Notary of the Cabildo who kept the record. Then my "residencia" was publicly proclaimed in the Market Square and I remained seventeen days in the City without any questions being asked me, and during this time the said Louis Ponce, Judge of Residencia, fell ill and all those who came in the fleet with him and God willed that he should die of that disease, and more than thirty more of those who came in the fleet with him, among them two Friars of the Order of Santo Domingo who accompanied him, and at the present time there are still many people ill and in danger of death, for this disease which they brought with them seems almost like the plague. Some of the people living here have caught it and two of them have died, and there are many more who have not yet recovered.

As soon as the said Louis Ponce departed this life he was buried with all the solemnity and honour due to an Envoy sent by your Majesty. Then the municipality of this city and the deputies from all the towns who were here present, most earnestly requested me, on behalf of your Catholic Majesty, to resume charge of the Government and the Administration of Justice as I had before held it under your Majesty's command and Royal instruction ; giving me their reasons for wishing it and pointing out the inconvenience which would arise from my not accepting it. All of this your Sacred Majesty can see from the copy of the proceedings which accompanies this letter. I answered, excusing myself from the task, as will be seen in the same copy. Later on other petitions were made to me and there were pointed out to me other and more pressing difficulties which would arise if I did not accept the office. Against all I have kept my resolve up to the present, and have not accepted office although it has not escaped my observation that the course that I am following presents some

difficulties. Wishing however that your Majesty should feel quite certain of honesty and fidelity in your Service, and holding this to be the most important thing of all—for if this is not believed of me the good things of this world would be worthless to me, and I should prefer to die—I have subordinated all to this end, and have given all possible support to maintain in office one Márcos de Aguilar whom the said Licenciate Louis Ponce had appointed his Chief Alcalde, and I have begged him to continue my Residencia to the end. This however he does not wish to do, saying that he has no authority to do so, which has caused me great grief, for it is not without sufficient reason that I have the greatest desire that your Majesty should be fully informed of my services and my faults, and so sure am I that on this account your Catholic Majesty will grant me great and increasing favour, not judging from the little that my talents are capable of accomplishing, but from the much that your Majesty is bound to give to one who has served you with the fidelity with which I have served you.

I therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, not to let this matter remain in suspense, but that the evil and the good of my services should be clearly declared and made public, for as this is a point of honour, to reach which I have suffered great hardships and risked such great dangers, God could not will it nor could your Sacred Majesty's goodness permit that I should lose it through the foul tongues of the envious and ill-disposed. I therefore beg and pray your Majesty that in payment of my services I should receive no other favour than this, and I pray God that if I am wanting in honour I may cease to live.

In my opinion, most Catholic Prince, from the time that I first entered into these transactions I have had many powerful rivals and enemies, but however great their hostility and malice it has not been sufficient to obscure the fame of my services and my fidelity; so being hopeless of effecting it they have sought two means by which it seems to me they have been able to place a mist or darkness before the eyes of your Highness, by which they have moved your Majesty from the Catholic and Holy purpose which your Majesty has always acknowledged of recompensing and paying me for my services.

One way is to accuse me before your Highness of the crime of

treason, saying that I have not obeyed your Majesty's commands, and that I do not hold this land in your powerful name but in a tyrannical and unspeakable way, giving as proof of this some depraved and diabolical reasons formed from false and not from true assumptions; but these people if they should see my true works and were true judges would see that they had a very different meaning, for up to now there has never been, nor will there be so long as I live, any letter or command of your Majesty which has come to me or has been brought to my notice which has not been, is not, and will not be, fulfilled and obeyed in every respect. At this present time the malice of those who spread such reports is most clearly shown, for had they been true I should not have travelled six hundred leagues from this City over dangerous roads and through desert country and have left this land in the care of your Majesty's officials, whom one would naturally believe to be the persons most zealous in the service of your Highness, although their deeds did not correspond to the confidence which I placed in them. The other way of discrediting me is to say that I hold a great or the greater number of the natives of this land as my slaves, from whom I benefit and profit and from whom I have drawn great sums of gold and silver which I have stored away, and that I have spent over sixty thousand gold dollars from the rents due to your Catholic Majesty without any reason for such outlay and that I have not sent to your Excellency the whole of the gold which is due as Royal Rent, but that I keep it here under specious pretences for purposes which I cannot accomplish. I can readily believe that, such rumours being current about me, they would have done their best to give colour to them, but I am fully confident that they are only such as when put to the test will prove to be false. As to the report that I own a large portion of the land, I own it to be true and that I have for my share a large amount of gold, but I declare that it has not been so much as to prevent my being poor, and at the present time in debt for five hundred thousand pesos de oro without having a Castellano with which to pay it; for if I have had much I have spent more, not in buying estates or other properties for myself, but in extending in this City the lordship and Royal property of your Highness by the aid of this wealth, and by personally undergoing many hardships, risks, and dangers I have conquered

and annexed many kingdoms and lordships for your Excellency, and these deeds not even the viperous tongues of the ill-disposed could hide or obscure. Looking over my account books it will be seen that more than three hundred thousand pesos de oro were spent out of my own fortune on these conquests, and when what I owned was exhausted I spent sixty thousand pesos de oro belonging to your Majesty—not for my own use, for they never passed through my hands—in the payments of my warrants for the costs and expenses of these later conquests, and whether or not they were profitably spent the facts are patent to all. As to what they say about my not having sent the rents to your Majesty, it is easy to show how false it is, for in the short time that I have been in this land I maintain as a fact that I have sent to your Majesty from this country more treasure than all the Islands and Tierra-firme put together, although they have been discovered and settled for thirty years and their discovery and settlement cost the Catholic Sovereigns, your Ancestors, a great expenditure of treasure, which has not been the case in this conquest.

Not only has that been sent to your Majesty which was yours by right, but also that which belonged to me and to those who aided me, and we have sent in abundance and have not counted what we spent of our own in your Royal service. When I sent the first account of our expedition to your Majesty by the hands of Alonso Hernández Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, not only did I send the Royal Fifth part of the spoil, but all that was captured, for it seemed just that your Majesty should enjoy the first fruits of the conquest. Afterwards, of all that was taken in the City when Montezuma its Chief was alive, a fifth part of the gold amounting to over thirty thousand Castellanos was given to your Majesty; I speak of that which was melted into ingots. The jewels should have been divided so that the soldiers should have had their shares, but both they and I were delighted to renounce our shares so that they could all be sent to your Majesty, and they were worth more than five hundred thousand pesos de oro. Both gold and jewels were lost, for they were taken from us when the natives rose and drove us out of the City at the time of the landing of Narvaez; but that, although I may have deserved it for my sins, was not on account of my negligence.

When later on the City was conquered and brought under your Majesty's rule, the same thing was done, the Royal Fifth of the gold melted down was put aside for your Majesty, and I persuaded my companions that all the jewels which had been taken should be given without division to your Majesty, and these were not of less value than those taken on the first occasion; and thus with all care and despatch I sent them all with thirty three thousand pesos de oro in bars in the care of Julian Alderete, who at that time was your Majesty's Treasurer, but they were captured by the French. That was not my fault but rather the fault of those who did not provide in time a fleet to go for it to the Azores, as they should have done for a remittance of such importance.

At the time that I left this City for the Gulf of Higueras I sent to your Majesty sixty thousand pesos de oro by Diego de Ocampo and Francisco de Montejo, and more was not sent because it seemed to me, and also the officers of your Catholic Majesty, that in sending so much at a time we were exceeding and avoiding the orders which your Majesty had sent to these parts about the shipment of gold, but we ventured to do it, knowing the need of treasure that your Majesty had at that time. With this I myself sent to your Highness by Diego de Soto, a servant of mine, all that I possessed so that I had not a peso de oro left. I sent it in the form of a silver cannon which cost me in the making and other expenses thirty five thousand pesos de oro, and I also sent some jewels of gold and stones which I owned. I sent them not so much on account of their intrinsic value—although that was not a small matter to me—as because the French had carried off the first ones which I had sent and it weighed on my mind that your Sacred Majesty had not seen them, and so that you should see a specimen, however poor, you might know from it what the rest of it was like. As it is therefore clear that I wished to serve your Catholic Majesty with zeal, goodwill, and all that I possessed, I do not know what reason there can be to suppose that I should keep for myself that which belongs to your Highness.

I have also heard, Powerful Lord, that your Sacred Majesty has been informed that I hold in this land two hundred millions of rent from the provinces which I have assigned to myself, and as my wish has always been that your Catholic Majesty should know

for certain my devotion to your Royal Service—in fact that you may be satisfied that I always have told and will tell the truth—I could not do a better thing to prove it than to make over this over-estimated payment of rent to your Majesty. By doing this I hope to gain many things, but above all that your Majesty should lose all suspicion, which it is here publicly said that your Majesty entertains of me. On this account I beg your Majesty to receive for your own service all that I possess here and grant me the favour of twenty millions of rent in those kingdoms [Spain] and there will remain to your Majesty the one hundred and eighty millions, and I will do service in your Majesty's Royal presence where I think no one will surpass me in devotion, nor will they be able to throw doubt on my services. In matters concerning this country I think that I shall be of use to your Majesty, for I shall know as one who has been an eye witness how to advise your Majesty as to what tends most to the advantage of the Imperial service, and how to avoid being deceived by false reports. I can assure your Majesty that it will be no slight service that I shall be able to render at Court by advising what should be done to preserve this land, and to bring the natives of it to a knowledge of our religion, and to insure to your Majesty a large permanent and increasing revenue, which may continually go on increasing and not diminish as have done those of the Islands and Tierra-firme owing to the want of good Government, and because the Catholic Sovereigns your Excellency's parents and predecessors received advice from those not zealous in their service, but swayed by personal interest, as indeed has always been the case with those who have given information to their Highnesses and to your Majesty about these countries. What was the use of conquering them and supporting them all this time, and in overcoming so many obstacles and difficulties to that end, if nothing is left in them to develop.

There are two things which make me long for your Majesty to allow me to serve you at Court, the first and most important is to satisfy your Majesty and all the world of my loyalty and fidelity to your service, and I place this the first of all the advantages that may accrue to me in this world, for it is to gain the name of a servant of your Majesty and of the Imperial and Royal Crown that I have gone through so many and so great perils, and have

suffered incomparable hardships, and this not for greed of treasure. If indeed such a desire had influenced me I had already gained sufficient for a squire such as I am, and I would not have spent it nor given up my desires in order to follow this other end which I have held as the great object to be attained. Nevertheless for my sins I have not been able to attain it, nor do I think that in the present instance I shall be able to do myself justice if your Majesty will not do me this great favour which I entreat of you. And so, as it shall not appear as though I were asking your Excellency too much on purpose to give you a reason to refuse it, and although it may be all that falls to my lot, and it is small enough for one to come without dishonour after having held in this country the charge of Government in your Majesty's name, and having so greatly increased the patrimony and Royal rule of your Majesty in these parts, placing under your Imperial sway so many provinces containing such noble towns and cities, and doing away with so many idolatries and other offences offered to our Creator, and bringing many of the natives to a knowledge of Him and planting in them our Sacred Catholic faith so securely that, if there be no opposition from those who think ill of such efforts and would direct their zeal to other ends, in a short time there could be established in these lands a new church where God our Lord would be served better than in any church in the world. I repeat that if your Majesty will grant me the favour to order me to be paid ten millions of rent within those kingdoms [Spain] I renouncing all that I have here, and that I may go there [to Spain] to serve you, it will be to me no small favour, for in this way my desire will be satisfied which is to serve your Majesty in your Royal presence, so that your Celestial Highness may be assured of my fidelity and may accept my humble services.

The other thing is—and I have no doubt about it whatever—that on hearing from me about the affairs of this land and even of the Islands you will be able more readily to govern them in a way that will conduce to the service of God and of your Majesty, for there [in Spain] I should be given credit for what I said, which is not given to me when I write from here where all that I do will always be attributed, as it has been hitherto, to passion and personal interest, and not to the zeal which as a

vassal of your Majesty I owe to your Royal Service; and so great is my desire to kiss your Majesty's royal feet and to serve in your presence that I know not how to give expression to it.

If your Greatness cannot do or has not the opportunity of doing me the favour which I ask, which is that your Majesty will support me in Spain and allow me to serve you there as I long to do, may I beg your Highness to do me the favour to allow me to retain in this land all that I already possess here or whatever my agents may ask of your Majesty in my name, making it my legal heritage for myself and my heirs, so that I should not return to Spain begging my bread.

I shall consider it a distinguished favour if your Majesty will send me permission to depart and satisfy my longing, for I trust to the Catholic Conscience of your Sacred Majesty not to leave me in poverty when the loyalty of my deeds and intentions is clearly established.

The arrival of the Judge of Residencia seemed to afford me a good opportunity to fulfil my desire, and I even began to put it into execution, but there were two things which stopped me, one of which was the want of money for expenses on the way; because my house had been robbed and plundered as I believe your Majesty has already been informed. The other was a fear lest a rising of the Natives should take place if I left the country, and that quarrels would arise between the Spaniards themselves which, judging from what had happened before, was quite possible.

Whilst I was writing this despatch to your Sacred Majesty a messenger came from the South Sea with a letter, from which I learn that a vessel has arrived on the coast near a town called Tehuantepec, and according to a letter which the Captain of the ship sent me, which I forward to your Majesty, this vessel is one of the fleet which your Sacred Majesty sent to the Islands of Maluco under the Captain Loaisa.

As your Majesty will learn the incidents of the voyage from the letter written by the Captain of the ship I will not repeat the story, and will only tell your Majesty what I did in the matter, which was to send a person at once to the place where the ship had arrived with orders that if the Captain wished to return home at once he should be supplied with everything necessary for his voyage, and that nothing should be denied him; that the

messenger should obtain from the Captain a very full account of his late voyage and the route that he had followed, so that I could send it to your Majesty and that your Majesty should receive full particulars as early as possible. In case the ship should stand in need of repairs I sent a pilot to take her to the Port of Zacatula (where I have three ships ready to start), so that she may be repaired there and everything done which may conduce to your Majesty's service and the success of the voyage. I will send your Majesty the report about the ship as soon as it comes to hand, so that your Majesty may be fully informed and may send your Royal Commands in the matter.

My ships in the South Sea are, as I have informed your Majesty, quite ready to start on their voyage, for as soon as I arrived in this City I pressed on their preparation and they would already have started had it not been for the want of certain arms, artillery and ammunition, which are being brought from Spain to place in them, so that they will start well found, and I trust in God that on behalf of your Majesty I shall be doing a great service by means of this voyage. Even if we do not discover a Strait I think that we shall discover this way a route to the Spice Islands so that your Majesty may be kept informed within the year of all that happens in that land.

If your Majesty would be pleased to grant me those favours which I asked for in a certain petition which I made to your Majesty concerning this discovery, I offer myself to discover from here all the spice and other Islands there may be between Maluco, Melaca and China, and so to arrange matters that your Majesty should not obtain the spices by way of exchange as the King of Portugal does, but hold them as your own property, and that the natives of those Islands should own and serve you as King and Natural Lord, for I offer, if the said grants are made, to go in person or to send such a fleet that it will be possible to subdue them, found settlements, build forts, and supply them with artillery and munitions of war, so that they can be defended against native princes and even against others from a distance.

If your Majesty will grant me the favour of entrusting me with this expedition and conceding me what I have petitioned, I believe that it will redound to your Majesty's service, and I submit that if it does not turn out as I say your Majesty should have me punished as one who lies to his King.

Since my return I have also arranged to send expeditions, both by land and sea, to form settlements on the Rio Tabasco, which is also called the Rio Grijalva and to conquer many provinces in its neighbourhood so that God and your Majesty may be served. The ships which come from and go to those parts will be better protected when those places and coast are better settled and brought to order, for many ships have gone ashore there and, as the inhabitants have not been conquered, the shipwrecked crews have been murdered.

I have also sent to the Province of the Zapotecs, about which your Majesty has already been informed: three companies have entered the province from different directions so as to finish the conquest as quickly as possible; this will certainly be most advantageous both because the natives of the province do great damage to the other natives who are friendly to us, and because it is the land richest in mines in all New Spain, and when it is conquered your Majesty will receive great benefit from it.

I have also arranged an expedition and have collected the people needed to form a settlement on the Rio de las Palmas, which is on the North coast below the Rio Panuco towards Florida, as I have heard that there is good land and a good harbour there, and I have no doubt but that God and your Majesty will be well served there as in all other parts, as I have very good reports of that country.

Between the North Coast and the Province of Michoacan there is a settlement of people known as the Chichimecas. They are a barbarous people and not so civilized as those of these Provinces, so I have now sent sixty horse and two hundred foot soldiers, accompanied by many friendly Indians, to learn the secret of that Province and people. They have been instructed that they are (if they find among the people any aptitude for living as these other Indians live, accepting our Religion, and acknowledging the service which they owe to your Majesty) to bring about a peaceful settlement and take them under your Majesty's rule, and to settle themselves among them on the land which seems most suitable; but that if on the other hand they do not find them such as I have described above, and they show no signs of submission, they are to make war upon them and capture them for slaves, for there is no alternative in this country. These barbarians must either acknowledge their

service to your Majesty or else be brought in as slaves, and as they are an almost savage people, in the latter case your Majesty would be served and the Spaniards benefited, for they could be used to bring gold out of the mines, and by contact with us it is possible that some of them may be converted and saved.

I have learnt that amongst these people there is a district thickly populated, where there are many fine pueblos in which the Indians live in the same way as the Indians do here, and it is reported that some of these pueblos have been visited by Spaniards; I think it most probable that we shall make a settlement in that district, as there are most favourable reports of its richness in silver.

Most powerful Lord, I despatched, two months before I left this City for the Gulf of Higueras, a Captain to the town of Coliman, which is on the South Sea one hundred and four leagues from this city, with orders to march down the South Coast for a distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues for the purpose of finding out the secret of that coast, and to ascertain if there were any harbours. This Captain did as I had ordered and marched one hundred and thirty leagues through the land, and sent me accounts of the many harbours which he found on the coast—a service of no small importance as so few had been discovered up to that time; and he sent news of many large pueblos and a numerous population, very skilful in war, with whom he had had some encounters, and had brought many of them to peace. He did not proceed further, as his force was small and he found no forage for his horses.

In the report which he brought me was the account of a very large river which the natives had told him was ten days further on; about it and the people living in its neighbourhood they told him many strange things. I am about to send him back again with a stronger force better equipped for war so that he may go and find out the secret of that river which from the size and breadth ascribed to it might turn out to be a strait. When he returns I will let your Majesty know what he finds out about it.

Nearly every one of the Captains of these expeditions is ready to set out; I pray God to guide them to His service. For my own part, although I may not meet with your Majesty's

approval I shall not cease to work in your service and I do not think it possible that in the course of time your Majesty will fail to recognise my fidelity; but if this should not happen I must be satisfied with doing my duty and knowing that my services, and the loyalty with which I have performed them, are patent to all the world, and I would wish for no other inheritance for my children.

Invincible Cæsar, may the Lord God preserve the life and high estate of your sacred Majesty for all time, as your Majesty may wish.

From this City of Temuxtitan [Tenochtitlan], September 3rd, 1526.

INDEX.

Acalá, 13, 19; reached by Bernal Díaz, 20, 23, 24
Acales = ships, 24
Acaltecas, Pueblo, 62, 86, 118
Acapulco, 178, 187
Accountant, The. *See* Albornoz.
Acrobats taken on expedition to Honduras, 4
Açula, 59
Admiral of Castile, The, 145, 146, 148, 200
Aguilar, Alonzo de, becomes a Friar, 243
Aguilar, Conde de, 142, 143, 146, 148
Aguilar, Gerónimo, the Interpreter, 247
Aguilar, Hernando de, goes with Bernal Díaz in search of food, 41
Aguilar, Marcos de, Licentiate, 105; appointed by will Governor to succeed Luis Ponce de Leon, 114; refuses to take a colleague, 116; death of his son, 117; rejects petition of Luis Sánchez and Bernal Díaz, 122; sends expedition to Chiapa, 125; his death and will, 126, 312
Alamilla, Fulano de, 233
Alaminos, Anton de, and his son, pilots, 245, 246
Alarcon, Hernando de, Head Steward of Viceroy, Captain-General of expedition to Cibola, 202
Alavez, Melchior de, 230
Albera, a soldier, 251
Albornoz, Rodrigo de, the Accountant, appointed Lieutenant-Governor, 2; writes to Spain against Cortés, 72; ejected from Government and imprisoned, 72, 73; reappointed Governor by Cortés, 87-90; meets Cortés at Texcoco, 107; goes to Spain, 129; returns to Mexico married, given pueblo of Guazpaltepeque. License to set up Sugar Factory at Cempoala, 162; grant of Guazpaltepeque rescinded, 164
Almestra, Alonzo de, 237
Almodóvar, the elder, his son Álvaro de Modóvar, and two nephews, 237
Alonzo, Luis, 238
Altamirano, Fray Diego de, 88; sent on a mission to Cortés, 92; arrives at Trujillo, 95
Altamirano, Licentiate Juan, given Power of Attorney by Cortés, 138; protests in Court against the depositions of the Factor Salazar and attempts to stab him, is imprisoned, but soon released, 158
Alvarado, Gomes de, died in Peru, 226
Alvarado, Gonzalo de, 121, 226
Alvarado, Jorge de, 72, 76; takes refuge in Monastery of San Francisco, 78, 88, 89, 107; his marriage, 125; goes as Captain to Guatemala, 125; his Residencia taken, 157; 226, 320
Alvarado, Juan de, of Chiribitio, 206
Alvarado, Juan de, a bastard, brother of Pedro de Alvarado, 226
Alvarado, Juan de, nephew of Pedro de A., appointed joint Commander of fleet, 207
Alvarado, Pedro de, proposal that he should govern Mexico, 76; threatened by the Factor, 76; 87, 107; meets Luis Marin at Chuluteca Malalaca, 118; at Guatemala (Iximché), 120; returns with Marin to Mexico, 121; goes to Spain, 125; 201; Governor and Adelantado of Guatemala, second marriage with Beatriz de la Cueva, prepares powerful fleet, 204, 205; meets the Viceroy and inspects fleet, 206; reaches Natividad; hurries to render assistance to Nochistlan, 207; his death, 208; 222, 223, 226; his age and appearance, 252; story of the massacre of Mexicans repeated, 302, 303; his government of Guatemala and first marriage to Francisca de la Cueva, Voyage to Peru, 320; repeats story of his death, 321, 322

Álvarez, a soldier and seaman, 247
Álvarez, Juan, "el Mariquillo," a pilot, 245
Álvarez Chico, Francisco, 227, 228
Álvarez Chico, Juan, 227, 228
Álvarez, Rubaco, Juan, a Portuguese, 240
Amate, paper made from bark of a tree, 263
Amaya, 234
Angulo, Fulano de, 234
Aparicio, 241
Aragon, Juan de, 235
Arbitez, Fulano de, Governor of Honduras, 328
Arbolanche, Fulano, 236
Archiaga, Archilaga, or Artiaga, Captain of Factor's Guard, 78, 89, 90
Arévalo, settler at Villa Rica, 242
Arguello, a soldier, 239
Arias de Avila, Pedro, sends Francisco Hernández to Nicaragua, 67; condemns Hernández to death, 83; 119, 331
Arias de Peñalosa, Doña Maria, married to Rodrigo de Contreras, 331
Arias de Peñalosa, Doña Ysabel, wife of Balboa, 68
Armenta, Lieutenant of Gil González, hanged by the settlers, 44, 45
Art and Trade among the Indians, 268, 269
Arroyuelo, a crossbowman, 239
Assignment, Perpetual, discussions, regarding, 281; decision postponed, 285
Astorga, a settler in Oaxaca, 249
Audiencia, Royal, appointed for Mexico, 130; arrives in Mexico, 154; failure of their Proclamation, against descendants of Jews and Moors, 161; Members of Audiencia dismissed, 163; New Audiencia arrives, 169; its Residencia taken on arrival of Viceroy, 173
Ávila, Alonzo de, 224; sent to Spain with the treasure of Montezuma, captured by the Pirate Florin, a prisoner in France, accompanies Montijo to Yucatan, gives Power of Attorney to Gil González de Benavides to hold the pueblo of Cuantitlan, 225 (note) and 318; his appearance and character, 255, 256; blames Alvarado for massacre of Mexicans, 304
Ávila de Benavides, Gil Gonzáles de. *See* Gonzáles)
Ávila, Gaspar de, and two others of the name, 240
Ávila, Sancho de, 237 (note)
Avalos or Abalos, a relation of Cortés, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; at the crossing of the Rio Dulce, 47; falls ill, 62; sent in command of ship to Santo Domingo, 63; shipwrecked and reaches Havanna, 64; a brother of Sayavedra, 85
Ayagualulco, 10

Baena, Fulano de, 239
Balahama, Rio, 69
Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de, 68, 331
Baldovinos, a soldier, 249
Balverde, hanged for plotting, 94
Bandadas, of Avila, two brothers, 240
Baptism, of Indians, 265
Barco, Francisco del, 233
Bargas, two brothers, 234
Barrientos, Alonzo de, 236
Barrios, Fulano de, married to a sister-in-law of Cortés, 113; law suits about Mistitan, 113
Barrios, Fulano de, killed in expedition against the Zapotecs
Barros de Sanmillan, Doctor, Oidor of Audiencia of Guatemala, 324; takes royal seal to Panama and becomes President of the Audiencia, 325
Bejar, Duque de. *See* Zuñiga Don Álvaro de.
Bejel, Benito de, 242
Beltran, Doctor, 200
Benítez, a soldier, 228
Berguillos, Fulano, 243
Berrio, Chief Alcalde of Oaxaca, 162; dies in prison, 171
Beserra de Mendoza, Diego, in command of expedition to the South Sea, 181; killed by his pilot, Ortuño Ximénes, 182
Bishop of Tlaxcala. *See* Garçes.
Bocanegra of Cordova, 105, 108
Branding Slaves. Licenses granted by the Oidores, 161; licenses revoked, 163; branding stopped by order of the Audiencia, 171, 225 (note); detailed account, 306-311; in Honduras, 328
Bridges, built by Cortés on expedition to Honduras, 10, 13, 21, 36, 37, 39

Briseño, Francisco, Licentiate, Governor of Guatemala, 325; his good works, 326, 328
Burgueno, Hernando, 236

Cabrera, Fulano de, 80
Cacao, 330
Cáceres, a soldier, 241
Cáceres, Juan, the rich, buys masses celebrated for soul of Cortés, 123, 248
Caciques, become horsemen, 270
California, 186, 188
Campañon, a captain under Pedrarias, 119
Campo, Diego de, given Power of Attorney by Cortés, 138
Canillas, Fulano de, 238
Cannibalism, on the expedition to Honduras, 15; in Mexico, 263
Caravajal, Antonio, goes as Proctor to Spain, 166, 167
Cárdenas, a soldier, 239
Cárdenas, the pilot, 239, 245, 246
Carmona, Anton de, the buskin maker, owner of ship, 50; falls ill, 63
Carmonas, two brothers, 234
Carranza, Mayor-domo to Cortés, on expedition to Honduras, 3, 21, 63
Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, Bishop of Chiapa, 281; opposes Perpetual Assignment, 283
Castañeda, Rodrigo de, 231
Castilla, Luis de, 206
Casualties, Spanish, the numbers of Spaniards killed, 294-298
Catalan, Alonzo, 238
Cayzedo, 227
Cazalote, 22
Cazonzin, Cacique of Jalisco, hanged, 168
Ceiba trees, crosses cut on, 17, 28; used for making a canoe, 119
Cereceda, Governor of Honduras, 328
Cermeño, Juan, 235
Cespedes, Luis de, Governor of Yucatan, 319
Chacujal, or Çinacantençintle, on Rio Polochic, 51
Chalchihuites, 17
Chalco, 121
Chamula, 18
Chaparristiques, Las, Pueblos, 119
Chapultepec, 193
Chilapa, Rio de 11; crossed in canoes, 12
Chinantla, 213
Chiribitio, Pueblo of, 206
Chirinos, Pedro Almírez. The Veedor, accompanies Cortés to Coatzacoalcos, 4; attentions to Cortes, 5, 6; given authority to act as Governor, and return to Mexico, 7; assumes government of Mexico, 72; leads expedition against Zapotecs, 73; his commission revoked by Cortés, 87; arrested and imprisoned in a cage, 90; released, 133
Chontalpa, La, Province of, 11
Christian observances among the Indians, 265, 267
Chuluteca Malalaca, Pueblo of, 118, 119
Churches, church ornaments, bells and choirs, 265, 266
Cibola, the Seven Cities, 175, 201, 202
Ciciliano, Juan, 238
Cieza, Fulano de, 235
Çiguatanejo, Port of, 179
Çiguatepecad, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20
Cimatan, expedition to; outpost of Mexican Empire (note), 9; rises in revolt, 10
Ciguenza, Cardinal de, deceived by the "Master of Rhodes," 197, 198; President of Council, 199
Çinacantençintle, Pueblo on Rio Polochic, called Chacujal by Cortés, 51
Clara, Santa, 234
Coatlan, the Rock of, 75, 97, 101
Cobos, Don Francisco de los, Knight Commander of Leon, 74, 124; praises Cortés to the Emperor, 145, 147; 148, 149, 200
Cogolludo's History of Yucatan, extract from, 34, 35 (note)
Comacho, a pilot, 245
Contreras, Rodrigo de, Governor of Nicaragua, 331; dismissed, 332
Corral, Cristóbal de, Standard-bearer, 228
Corral, Francisco, 227
Cortejo, follower of Alonzo de Herrera, arrested, his right hand struck off, 133
Cortés, Catalina de Arrellano, daughter of Don Hernando, died young, 212
Cortés, Hernando. Sets out for Honduras, appoints Lieutenant-Governors for Mexico, 2; reception at Coatzacoalcos, 6; gives powers to Factor and Veedor, 7; leaves Coatzacoalcos, 10; at Istapa, 12;

at Ciguatepecad, 17; starts for Acalá, 21; suffers from hunger, 22; consults Caciques of Acalá, 24; orders Guatemoc to be hanged, 27; hurt by a fall, 29; visits Island of Tayasal, 34; crosses Rio Dulce, 45; meets the followers of Gil González, 46; on expedition up Rio Dulce, 50-53; at Chacujal, 51; is wounded, 52; goes to Puerto de Caballos, 53; arrives at Trujillo, 60; pardons men from Panuco, 60; El Capìtan hue hue de Marina, 62; sends a report to Santo Domingo, 63; sends a ship to Islands of the Guanages, 64, 65; illness of, 70; hears bad news from Mexico, letter from Zuazo, 71; reported to have been killed, 74; accused of marking gold with false die, 78; depressing effect of Zuazo's letter, 79; plans to return to Mexico, 80; sends presents to Francisco Hernandez, 80; sends Diego de Goday to Naco, 81; sets sail for Mexico, returns to Trujillo, 83; his bad health, 83; his letter to Sandoval, 84; sends Dorantes on secret mission to Mexico, 87; agrees to return to Mexico, 96; sails for Havana, 97; arrives Port of Medellin, 98; Vera Cruz, 99; reception by the Indians, 100; arrival in Mexico, 101; his houses, 101; receives letters from His Majesty, 104; conducts Luis Ponce de Leon into the city, 107; asks Luis Ponce to exhibit the Royal Decrees, 108; interview with Luis Ponce, 109; defeats intrigues of Fray Tomas Ortiz, 111, 112; his Residencia begun, 113; accused of poisoning Luis Ponce and Garay, 115, 128; affronted by Alonzo de Estrada, 133; banished from Mexico City, 134; prepares to go to Spain, 135; shows his loyalty, 136; buys ships for his voyage, 140; embarks at Vera Cruz, arrives in Spain, 141; at Sandoval's death bed, 142; his devotions at N. S. de Guadalupe, meets Doña Maria de Mendosa and her sister, 143; his attention to those ladies, 144; an offer of marriage; arrives at Court (Toledo) 145; his reception by the Emperor, created Marques del Valle and Knight of Santiago and Captain-General of New Spain and the South Sea, 146, 147; his behaviour annoys some grandees, 147; begins to lose favour with the Emperor, accompanies the Emperor to Barcelona, 149; preparations for his marriage, gifts of jewels to Doña Juana de Zuñiga, 149; offers to send expeditions to the South Sea, 150; sends Juan de Herreda on a mission to the Pope, 151; claims made against him before the Audiencia, 159, 160; returns to Mexico, 176; dispute about number of vassals, 177; resides at Cuernavaca, begins to build ships, 178; sends expedition to the Moluccas, 179; despatches another expedition of two ships to the South Sea, 180; failure of expedition, despatches third expedition, 181; its failure, 182, 183; prepares to lead expedition himself, 183; reaches Santa Cruz, 184; failure of the expeditions, 185; discovers California, 186; returns to Cuernavaca, 187; sends ships on another expedition under Francisco de Ulloa, 187, 188; gives a great banquet, 193; lamed by blow on his instep, 196; goes to Spain, received with distinction at Court, 199; his Residencia taken, 200; refused leave to return to Mexico, 200; joins the Emperor's fleet against Algiers, his ship wrecked, loss of jewels, 209; goes to Seville to meet his daughter, his illness, goes to Castilleja de la Cuesta, his death, 211; and burial, 211, 212; his age, his sons and daughters, 212, 213; his will, his coat-of-arms, 213; appearance and disposition, 214; dress and ornaments, 215; his obstinacy and valour, 216-219; his habits, 220

Cortés, Juana, daughter of Don Hernando, married to Hernando Enríquez, 212

Cortés, Leonor, daughter of Don Hernando, married Juanes de Tolosa, 212

Cortés, Luis, bastard son of Don Hernando, Comendador of Santiago, 212

Cortés, Maria, eldest daughter of Hernando Cortés, her marriage with Don Álvaro Pérez Osovio broken off, 211; married to the Conde de Luna de Leon, 212

Cortés, Martin, father of Don Hernando, 72, 113; death of, 139

Cortés, Martin, eldest son of Don Hernando and successor to the title, 212
Cortés, Martin, son of Doña Marina, shipwrecked, 209; Comendador of Santiago, 212
Copilco, 10, 11
Coyoacan, 134; convent founded at, 213
Cozumel, 63
Crosses cut on Ceiba trees, 17, 28
Cuantitlan, Pueblo of, 225 (note), 318
Cuellar, Fulano de, 230
Cuellar, Juan de, 230
Cuenca, Simon de, Mayor-domo to Cortes, to take command of vessel with supplies, 8, 17; death of, 18, 74, 227
Cuernavaca, 133, 178, 187
Cues or Temples, 263
Cueva, Doña Beatriz de la, second wife of Pedro de Alvarado, 204, 321
Cueva, Doña Francisca de la, wife of Pedro de Alvarado, her death, 204, 320
Cueva, Don Pedro de la, ordered to Mexico to investigate, 129; his voyage postponed, 130; his friendship with Cortés, 151
Cueva, Francisco de la, Licentiate, Lieutenant-Governor of Guatemala, 321
Cuscatlan (a Province of Salvador), 119, 120
Cuyuacan, 54

Deer, hunted by Spaniards, 31; considered as gods, 31
Delgadillo, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia, 154, 161; accepts bribes, 162; dismissed from office, 163, 164, 165; his Residencia taken, 170; fined and imprisoned, 171; sent back to Spain, 172
Delgadillo, Alcalde Mayor of the Zapotecs, 162; dies in prison, 171
Dialogue with "Fame," 275-277
Díaz, Cristóbal, crossbowman, 238
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, goes on Expedition to Cimatan, 9; joins Cortés, 11; sent ahead to Acalá, 19; brings food for the Spaniards, 21; other expeditions in search of food, 25, 37-39; 40, 41; at the crossing of Rio Motagua, 55; reproved by Sandoval, 56; arrives at Naco, 56; unwell, 57; sent from Naco to Trujillo, 69; meets Cortés, 70; begs Cortés to take him with him to Mexico, 80; starts overland for Mexico with Luis Marin, 81; reaches Naco, 82; his anger at a letter from Cortés, 84; his horses, 85; sent to Trujillo for news, reaches Olancho, 117; returns to Luis Marin, 118; reaches Mexico, 121; lodges with Andrés de Tápia, 122; has interview with Marcos de Aguilar, 122; Proctor for Coatzacoalcos, 155; fined and banished from City by the Audiencia, 159; signs statement in favour of Cortés, banishment repealed, 160; goes to Spain, 199; returns to Mexico, 200; comments on Cortés's reports, 223; record of services, 251; his accurate memory, 258, 259; his character as a soldier, 261; the oldest of the Conquistadores, 273; summoned to Spain, 281; attends Council on Perpetual Assignment, 284; returns from Court, 285; defends himself against his critics, 286-291; record of battles in which he was engaged, 291-294; destroys the iron for branding slaves, 309; appointed Inspector-General of Coatzacoalcos and Tabasco, 310; shocked at treatment of Honduras, 329
Díaz, Gaspar, a soldier, becomes a hermit, 244
Díaz de Herrera, Diego, Governor of Honduras, 328
Díaz de Lugo, Doctor Juan Bernal, 200
Díaz, Juan, a presbyter, 237
Díaz, Juan, of Burgos, 238
Díaz, Miguel, his lawsuit about Pueblo of Mestitan, 113
Domínguez, Gonzalo, 227; his appearance and character, 257
Donayre, Francisco, a farrier, 85
Dorantes, Martin, sent by Cortés to Mexico, 87; reaches the City in disguise, 88 90
Drunkenness among Indians, 263
Duran, Alonzo, 242

Earthquakes in Guatemala, 120, 326, 327
Education among the Indians, 268
Emperor, The (Charles V.), expresses approval of Cortés, 95; displeased with Cortés, appoints Alonzo de Estrada sole Governor, 129; receives **Cortés** at Court, 146; and

visits him when ill, 147; prepares fleet against Algiers, 209
Empress, The, Doña Ysabel, jealous of Cortés's gifts to his wife, 150; her death, 199
Enríquez, Don Enrique, 209
Enríquez, a soldier, 246
Escalante, a soldier, becomes a Friar, 243
Escalante, Juan de, 224
Escalona, a youth, 242
Escobar, hanged for plotting, 94, 248
Escobar, Alonzo, 248
Escobar, bachelor, an apothecary, 248
Escudero, Pedro, 235
Espinosa, three of the name, 241
Esquivel. *See* Luis de Esquivel.
Estrada, Alonzo de, the Treasurer, appointed Lieutenant-Governor, 2, 25; ejected from Government and imprisoned, 72, 73; re-appointed Governor by Cortés, 87-90; quells the plot to release the Factor, 94; 107; becomes Governor on death of Aguilar, 126; appointed sole Governor by the Emperor, 129; sends out various expeditions, 130-132; banishes Cortés from Mexico City, 134; his Residencia taken by the Royal Audiencia, 157; his death, 157

Factor. *See* Gonzales de Salazar.
"Fame," a dialogue, 275-277
Farfan, Luis, 249
Fenced Pueblo, The, 31
Festival in Celebration of Peace between Spain and France, 188-198
Figueroa, sent on Expedition against Zapotecs, wounded in dispute with Herrera, 131; excavates Indian graves and finds golden jewels, returns to Mexico, sails for Spain, lost at sea, 132
Fish, caught in lake, 32
Flamenco, Juan, falls ill, 63, 233
Flores, Cristóbal, 226
Flores de Oaxaca, Francisco, 228
Florianes, two brothers, 234
Florin, Juan, French Pirate, 225 (note)
Franciscan Friars, accompany expedition to Honduras, 3, 16, 61; fall ill, 62; accompanying expedition to the South Sea; landed at Jalisco, 182
Friars, arrival of Franciscans and Dominicans in New Spain, 264
Fuensalida, Padre Bartolome de, 34, 35

Gallego, Alvaro, 245
Gallego, Pedro, 242
Gallego, Rivadeo, 244
Galleguillo, 244
Gaona, Fulano de, 248
Garavito, Fulano, friend of Pedrarias, 82; his old feud with Cortés, 83; meets Luis Marin at Chuluteca, 119
Garçes, Don Fray Julian, first Bishop of Tlaxcala, acts as mediator between Cortés and the Treasurer, 135; a second attempt, his praise of Cortés, 137
García, Bartolomé, 250
García de Loayza, Don Fray, Knight Commander of St. John of Rhodes, in command of a fleet from Spain for Chiua, 179
García de Loaysa, President of the Indies, 139, 148
García, Juan, a blacksmith, 245
García, Martin, the Valencian, Alguacil, 19, 236
Garci-Caro, Falconer, on expedition to Honduras, 3, 234
Garay, Francisco de, 111
Garnica, Gaspar de, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3
Garro, Pedro de, arrested by Sandoval and brought to Naco, 67, 80; returns to Nicaragua, 82; flees from Pedrarias and joins Sandoval, 83
Gasca, Licentiate de la, goes to Court, 280; Bishop of Palencia, 281; opposes Perpetual Assignment,, 283
Genovés, Lucas, 246
Genovés, Juan, 246
Genovés, Fulano, 246
Geronimite Friars, 63
Gínes Nórtes. *See* Nórtes.
Girimonga, 59
Godoy, Diego de, left as Captain at Puerto de Caballos, 58; sent to Naco, 81, 97, 105, 110
Golfo Dulce, 43; Cortés crosses the river, 45
Gomara, Francisco López de, 286-288
Gómez, Juan, 234
Gonzáles, Pedro, servant of the Factor, 90
González de Ávila, Gil, 34, 43, 46, 49, 60, 63; arrives in Mexico, 76; arrested by the Factor and sent to Spain, 77

Gonzáles de Benavides, Gil, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; lawsuit about Cuautitlan, his sons beheaded, 225, 226 (note), 318
Gonzáles de Najera, Francisco, 234
Gonzáles de Trujillo, Pedro, hanged by order of Nuño de Guzman, 126
Gonzáles Sabiote, Pedro, appointed guard to the Factor, 78, 89, 247
Government, Local, among the Indians, 269, 270
Grado, Alonzo de, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; married a daughter of Montezuma, 228
Granado, Fulano, 231
Grijalva, Hernando de, Captain of a vessel on expedition to the South Sea under Beserra, 181; separates from Beserra, discovers uninhabited Island of San Tome, 182
Guadalupe (Spain), 143
Guaimura, native name of Trujillo, 329
Guanages Islands, 61, Indians from complain to Cortés, 64
Guaniguanico, Sierra of, 64
Guaspaltepec or Guazpaltepeque, an encomienda of Sandoval, 5, 6; given to the Accountant Albornoz, 162; gift rescinded, 164
Guatemala (Antigua), 120
Guatemala, Government of, 320-325
Guatemala (Iximché), 120
Guatemoc, Mexican Cacique. Taken by Cortés on expedition to Honduras, 2, 15; in plot to kill Spaniards, 26; confession, speech and death, 27-29
Guautitlan. *See* Cuautitlan.
Guayabal, Bay of, 185
Gueacalá, 12. *See* Acalá.
Gueatasta, 18
Guerrero, Augustin, Mayor-domo to the Viceroy, 196, 206
Guinea, steward, on expedition to Honduras, 3, 16, 21; falls ill, 63
Gutierrez, Francisco, 234
Gutiérrez, Fulano, 233
Gutiérrez de la Cavalleria, Doña Marina, wife of Alonzo de Estrada, pleads for better treatment of Cortés, 134
Guzman, a locksmith, employed by conspirators to make keys, 93; reveals the plot, 94
Guzman, Juan de Enríquez, 125; Captain in Chiapa, his Residencia taken, 130
Guzman, Luis de, Captain of Artillery, 78, 89, 90; his marriage, 125
Guzman, Nuño de, Governor of Punuco, 72; orders Pedro Gonzáles to be hanged, 126; made President of the Royal Audiencia, 154, 161; gives franchises for branding slaves, 162; dismissed from office, 163-165; settles Province of Jalisco, 167; hangs the Cacique Cazonzin, 168; his Residencia ordered, he refuses to leave Jalisco, his Residencia to be taken in Jalisco, 170; returns on parole to Mexico, 173; imprisoned and released, 174; his Residencia taken by Vásquez Coronado, 175; sends expedition to Island of Santa Cruz (note), 183; goes as a prisoner to Spain, 188; in favour with Viceroy, 189; always to remain at the Court of Spain, 200, 313, 318
Guzman, Pedro de, 238

Hennequen cloth used for a map, 12, 14
Hermandad, The, 108
Hernández de Alanis, Gonzalo, 232
Hernández, Diego, 239
Hernández, Francisco, sent to Nicaragua, 67, 68; receives presents from Cortés, 80; beheaded by order of Pedro Arias de Ávila, 331
Hernández, Gonzalo, ill-treated by the Factor, 79
Hernández Paulo, Alonzo, and two nephews, 237
Hernández, Pedro, Secretary to Cortés, 238
Hernández, Pero, Governor of Soconusco, flees to Castile, 330, 331
Hernández Puertocarrero, Alonzo, record of services, 231
Hernández, Santos, 230
Herrada, Juan de, sent by Cortés on a mission to the Pope, 151, returns to Mexico, thence to Peru, tutor to Don Diego Almagro, 152; made Conde Palatino, 153
Herrera, Alonzo de, Captain of expedition against the Zapotecs, 125; wounds Figueroa, 131; his arrest ordered, escapes to mountains, 133, 241
Herrera, Doctor, Oidor under the Viceroy, 315, 323
Holguin, Garcia, 160
Honduras, Governors of, 328, 329
Horse. belonging to Cortés, left at Tayasal, worshipped by Indians, 34, 35

Hospital (de Jesus) founded by Cortés in Mexico, 213
Huexotzingo, Volcano near, used as coat-of-arms by Ordas, 74
Huisquil, (note) 13
Huitzilopochtli or **Huichilobos,** 75
Hurones, Gonzalo, 249
Hurtado de Mendosa, Diego, in command of expedition to the South Sea, 180; failure of expedition, Hurtado lost, 181, 188

Iguanas, good to eat, 32
Iquinuapa, 10
Ircio, Pedro de, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; offers to go in search of food refused, 37, 38, 40, 41, 224; his appearance, age and character, 255
Istapa, 11, 12
Itzáes, Indians of the Lake of Peten, 34 (note)
Iztapalapa, 106, 107, 121

Jaen, Cristóbal de, 246
Jalisco, 182, 183, 185, 188, 318, 319
Jaramillo, Juan, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; married to Doña Marina, 5; loses his baggage in river, 6, 51, 226
Juarez la Marcayda, Doña Catalina, wife of Cortés, 113, 160
Jarra, Rodrigo de, 233
Jiménes, two brothers, 234
Juarez, the elder, Fulano, 234
Juarez, Juan, brother-in-law of Cortés, brings wicked claim against Cortés, 113
Juggler, taken on expedition to Honduras, 4; dies on the road, 14, 15; Indian jugglers taken to Spain, 138, 144, 151

Lacandones, a tribe of uncivilized Indians, 30
Lagos, a soldier, 237
Landecho. *See* Martínez de.
La Purificacion, Port of, 201, 205; pueblo of, 208
La Rabida, Monastery of, 141, 142
Lares, the good horseman, his appearance and character, 257
Lares, a crossbowman, 227
Lares, Fulano, 227
Larios, 234
Las Casas, Fray Bartolomé de, 102, 285
Las Casas, Francisco de, 1, 34, 44, 60, 63; arrives in Mexico, 76; arrested by Factor and sent to Spain, 77, 87, 96
Lempa, River, 119
Lencero, owner of inn, 242
Leon, Juan, settler at Villa Rica, 242
Leon, Luis de, manager of festival celebrating peace, 189
Lerma, a soldier, 244
Lerma (or Lema), Hernando de, 234
Limpias Caravajal, Juan de, 230, 285
Loa, Guillen de la, 249
Loayza, Catalina de, married to the Accountant Albornoz, 162
Loayza, Licentiate, Oidor under the Viceroy, returns to Spain, 173
Loayza, Licentiate of Talavera, in Guatemala, 324; Oidor in Chili, 325
López Çerrato, Alonzo, President of the Audiencia of Guatemala, 323
López, Alvar, 240
López de Ávila, Hernan, accompanies expedition for Honduras, 3; returns to Mexico invalided, 7, 235
López, Benito, a curate, destroys the iron for branding slaves, 309; appointed Inspector-General of Coatzacoalcos and Tabasco, 310
López, Gonzalo, Proctor from Mexico to Spain, 281
López de Gimena, Gonzalo, 230
López de Gimena, Juan, 230
López de Villa Nueva, Diego, 118
López, Pedro, Licentiate, Doctor, on the expedition to Honduras, 3; escapes from shipwreck, reports to Audiencia of Santo Domingo, falls ill, 62, 64; attends Luis Ponce, 114
López, Martin, shipwright, 231
López, Pero or Pedro, a pilot, on expedition to Honduras, 14
López, Pedro, a crossbowman, 245
López, Roman, 230
López, Tomas, Licentiate, Oidor in Guatemala, 323
Loyalty of Mexico to Spain, 272
Lugo, Bishop of, 200
Lugo, Francisco de, 225, 226
Luis, Alonzo or Juan, "el niño," 236
Lyntorno, a soldier, becomes a friar, 244

Madrigal, settler at Villa Rica, 242
Maestre, Pedro, the harpist, 249
Magalanes, a Portuguese, 240

Maldonado, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia, 154; dies of pleurisy, 155
Maldonado, Alonzo, Oidor of Royal Audiencia 169; made Governor of Gautemala, 172, 173; rescues Cristóbal de Onate at Nochistlan, 208; returns to Spain, 322, 323
Maldonado, Fulano, Captain of ship, 202
Maldonado, the broad, 227
Maldonado of Medellin, a youth, 241
Maldonado of Vera Cruz, 241, 242
Maniani, 86, 118
Manzanilla, Juan de, 242; Pedro de, 242
Mansilla, Juana de, wife of Alonzo Valiente, refuses to re-marry, whipped through the streets, 75; publicly honoured in Mexico, 91
Mañuelo, Rodrigo, Maestresala on expedition to Honduras, 3
Mañueco, Rodrigo, death of, 81
Map, made by natives, 12, 14, 24
Marcos de Niza, Fray, reports on Cibola, 202
Maria de Valenzuela, wife of Pánfilo de Narvaez, 159
Marin, Luis, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3, 18, 24, 47, 49; sent from Naco to Trujillo, 69; ordered to return to Naco, 80; leaves for Mexico, 81; left in command by Sandoval, 86, 110; sends for news to Trujillo, 117; continues his march, 118; meets Pedro de Alvarado, 118; reaches Mexico, 121, 122; his age and appearance, 255
Marina, Doña, Interpreter, taken by Cortés on expedition to Honduras, 2; married to Juan Jaramillo, 5; as interpreter, 15, 24, 27, 28, 32, 33, 42, 51, 60; El Capitan hue hue de Marina, 62
Marmolejo, Francisco, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; goes in search of food, 40; sent by Luis Marin to Trujillo for news, 117
Martin de Alpedrino, Alonzo, a Portuguese, 240
Martin de Ayomonte, Diego, 239
Martin, Don Fray, appointed Bishop of Las Charcas, 280; opposes Perpetual Assignment, 283
Martin de Gamboa, Cristóbal, 227
Martínes of Fronegal, two brothers 237
Martínez de Landecho, Juan, President of the Audiencia of Guatemala, 323, 324; his death at Panama, 325
Martyn, Hernan, a blacksmith, 245
Maseguales or Mazeguales = vassals, 65
Masses celebrated for soul of Cortés, bought by Juan Cáceres, 123
Master of Rhodes, nickname of a settler, 191; his adventures in Spain with quack remedies, 197, 198
Matienzo, Oidor of Royal Audiencia, 154, 161; a hard drinker, 162; dismissed from office, sent to Panuco to enquire about branding slaves, 163, 164, 165; his Residencia taken, 170; fined and imprisoned 171; sent back to Spain, 172
Mazariegos, Diego de, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; goes with Bernal Díaz to search for food, 25; at the crossing of the Rio Motagua, 55; sent as Captain to Chiapa, 130
Mazatecas, Land of the, or land of deer, 30, 31
Maçapa, River (Rio de dos Bocas), 10
Mechuacan, Indians from, die on the expedition to Honduras, 15
Medellin, Port of, 98; sickness at, 115
Medina, Francisco de, on expedition to Honduras, 10, 17; death of, 18, 74, 227
Medina, Francisco, of Medina del Campo, becomes a friar, 243
Medina Sidonia, Duque de, gives reception to Cortés at Seville, 143
Méndez, Fulano, 248
Mendoza, Antonio de, appointed Viceroy of New Spain, 173; gives a great banquet, 193; sends to quell revolt at Nochistlan, 200, 201; sends expedition to discover Cibola, 201; meets Pedro de Alvarado at Chiribitio, 206; discussions regarding Alvarado's fleet, 207; sends three ships to Spice Islands, 208, 209; his Residencia, 315; made Viceroy of Peru, his death, 316
Mendoza, Doña Maria de, wife of Don Francisco de Cobos, Comendador-Mayor of Leon, meets Cortés at Guadalupe, 144, 145, 148, 149; deceived by the Master of Rhodes, 197, 198, 200
Merchants, Indian, captured on the Rio Dulce, 49

Mesa, a soldier, 236
Mexia, Gonzalo, nicknamed Rapa-Mpelo, sent to Acalá, 19
Mexia, Licentiate, Oidor under the MViceroy, 315; in Guatemala, 324; President of Audiencia of Santo Domingo, 324
Mistitan, Pueblo, subject of lawsuit, 113
Mijes rise in revolt, 73; expeditions against. 130-132
Mol, Andrés de, 250
Moluccas, The, expeditions to, 179, 180
Mondejar, Marquis, President of the Council of the Indies, and others discuss the Perpetual Assignment, 281-285
Monjaraz, Andrés de, on expedition against the Zapotecs, 73, 226; his appearance and age, 256
Monroy, Alonzo de, "el manco," 236
Montañez, Alvaro, on expedition to Honduras, 3
Montañez, Rabanal, 238
Montejo, Francisco de, Adelantado of Yucatan, 224, 225 (note); his appearance, age and character, 253, 319, 323
Montejo, Francisco de, page to Cortés on expedition to Honduras (son of the Adelantado of Yucatan), 3
Morales, Alcalde of Vera Cruz, 242
Moreno Medrano, Pedro, 88, 99, 230, 285
Moreno the Bachelor. attempts to steal Indians from the Guanages, 65; consulted by Francisco Hernández, 67
Morillas, a soldier, 249
Morla, Francisco de, 227
Morla of Ciudad Rodrigo, 227
Moron, Fulano, 233
Moron, Fulano, of Gínes, 227
Motagua, Rio, 54
Motilla, Sandoval's celebrated horse, 85, 253
Motolinea, Fray Toribio, charged with conversion of natives, 2, 88
Musicians taken on expedition to Honduras, 3, 16; die of hunger, 26

Nacajuca, 11
Naco, 44, 49, 53, 54, 59, 66, 81, 82, 117
Najara, Juan de, 231
Narvaez, Panfilo de, granted the conquest of Rio de Palmas, 72, 111; his appearance, age and character, 258
Nasao, Conde de, 147-149
Natividad, La. *See* Puerto de Caballos.
Natividad, Port of, on Pacific Coast, 187, 207
Navarrete, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3, 232
Navarro, a soldier, 242
Nicaragua, Government of, 331, 332
Nicuesa, a soldier killed by Indians, 119
Nieto, Antonio, elected leader by followers of Gil González, 45, 47
Nito, 28, 34, 46
Nochistlan, in Jalisco, 200
Nórtes, Gínes, appointed guard of the Factor, 78, 89, 90, 238
Núñez, Andrés, 249
Nuñez de Balboa, Vasco, beheaded by order of Pedro Arias de Ávila, 68, 331
Nuñez de Mercado, Juan, 88, 238

Oaxaca, 121, 131
Ocampo, Gonzalo Rios de (or Rodriguez or Diego), accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; as equerry, 4; defamatory libels, 7, 91; arrested by Cortés, 102
Ocaña, a Notary, arrested by Cortés, 102
Ochoa, a Basque, 246
Oculizte, 42, 43
Ojeda, the squint-eyed, 5, 231
Ojeda Doctor, attends Luis Ponce, 114
Olancho, 62, Indians of, complain to Cortés, 96; also called Guayape, 117
Olea, Cristóbal de, record of services, 229; his appearance, age and character, 256
Olid, Cristóbal de, 1, 34, 43, 56, 60, 63, 110, 223
Olintepec, 121
Olmedo, Fray Bartolomé de, 237
Olmedo, Rogel de, Oidor in Guatemala, 323
Onate, Cristóbal de, Acting Governor of Jalisco, 175, 202; begs help at Nochistlan from Pedro de Alvarado, 207; nearly defeated, rescued by Maldonado, 208
Orantes, Martin de. *See* Dorantes.
Orbita, Padre Juan de, 34, 35 (note)
Ordás, Diego de, returns from Spain with the Order of San-

tiago, 74; goes to Xicalango, reports that Cortés is dead, 74; sails for Cuba, 74; returns, 122; denies reporting that Cortés was dead, 123; advises Cortés to assume more state, 124; dies in the Marañon, 226; his appearance, age and character, 254, 255
Orduña, Francisco, the Elder, takes the Residencia of Jorge de Alvarado, 157, 320
Orosco, Francisco de, 236
Ortega, the Bachelor, acts as Chief Alcalde, 94
Ortequilla, page to Montezuma, 248
Ortiz, a musician, 250
Ortiz, Alonzo, carries news to Cortés, 44
Ortiz de Argueta, Alonzo, Governor of Honduras, 329
Ortiz, Fray Tomas, 105; complains of poisoned food at feast, 106; present at interview between Luis Ponce and Cortés, 109; his intrigues defeated, 111, 112; says that Sandoval and Cortés poisoned Luis Ponce and Garay, 115
Ortuño de Lango, in command of a tender arrives at Tehuantepec from the China fleet, 179
Osorio, Baltazar, Captain of an expedition to Tabasco, 125, 230

Pacayas, Inflorescence of Palm, used as food, 48
Pacheco, 233
Pacheco, Pedro de, Governor of Soconusco, his death, 331
Page of Sandoval, condemned to lose his hand, 133
Palma, Pedro de, 250
Palmas, Rio de, 72
Palm nuts, as food, 21, 48
Panuco, 60, 72
Papayeca, 62
Parada, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia, 154; dies of pleurisy, 155
Pardo, Bartolomé, 235
Paredes, a soldier, 245
Pastrana, hanged for plotting, 94
Paynado, Fulano, 244
Paz, Rodrigo de, appointed Alguacil and Mayor-domo, 2, 4, 72; imprisoned, 73; tortured and hanged, 76-78
Peace, celebrations of, between Spain and France, 188-198
Pedernales, Sierra de los, 36
Pedrarias de Avila. *See* Arias de Avila.
Pedraza, Diego de, Master Surgeon, on the expedition to Honduras, 3
Peña, sent by the Factor with despatches to Spain, 76
Peñalosa, 247
Peñates, Los, of Gibraltar, 251
Perales, Falconers, on expedition to Honduras, 3
Peralta, Don Gaston de, Marques de Falces, appointed Viceroy, 317
Pererelmayte, Alonzo, 247
Pérez de Cabrera, Juan, Governor of Honduras, 329
Pérez, Juan, 233
Perez, Malinche or Artiaga, 247
Peron, Pedro, 241
Perpetual Assignment, 155, 282-285
Petapa Pueblo, 120
Phœnix, The, a cannon, 290
Pichin, Rio, 69
Pilar, Fulano de, 231
Pineda or Pinedo, 245
Pinto, Niño, 243
Piuzons, The, of Palos, 251
Pizarro, Fulano, a Captain, 240
Pizarro, Hernando, arrives at Court from Peru, 199; made prisoner, 200
Plazuela, 247
Plot to murder Spaniards, 26
Polanco, de, 234
Poison Grass, 69
Ponce de Leon, Licentiate, ordered to take the Residencia of Cortés, reaches San Juan de Ulúa, 103; corresponds with Cortés, 104; misinformed by enemies of Cortés, 105; arrives at Iztapalapa, 106; enters Mexico with Cortés, 107; exhibits the Royal Decrees, 108; takes over the Government, 109; interview with Cortés, 109; falls ill of sleeping-sickness, 113; appoints Marcos de Aguilar as his successor, his death, 114, 115; buried at Monastery of San Francisco, 115
Ponce de Santiago, 248
Pope Clement, 151
Porras, a great singer, 249
Portillo, Sindos de, 243
Proaño, Chief Alguacil, 105, 108
Proaño, Fulano, his dispute with Alonzo de Estrada, 127
Puebla, Lance-page to Cortés on expedition to Honduras, 3
Puebla, Tirado de la, 232
Puerto de Caballos, or Natividad, 53, 58, 59, 205, 206
Puerto, Juan del, 237

Quemera, pueblo, 69
Quequexque, roots of, used as food, 13 (note)
Quesada of Ledesma, Doctor, Oidor under the Viceroy, 173; appointed to count Cortés's vassals, 177, 315, 323
Quespan, 66
Quijada, Licentiate, Governor of Yucatan, 319
Quimiztlan, Quismistan or Quimistan, 56, 59
Quintero, a soldier, becomes friar, 243
Quintero, a shipmaster, 250
Quiñones, Antonio de, Captain of Cortés's bodyguard, sent as Proctor to Spain, killed at Terceira, 225 (note)
Quiñones, Pedro Ramírez de, 323
Quirova, or Quivoga, **Vasco de**, Oidor of the Audiencia of Mexico, 170; appointed Bishop of Mechuacan, 172, 281; supports Perpetual Assignment, 281-283

Rafts, used in crossing rivers, 12
Ramires the Elder, 249
Ramírez de Quiñones, Pedro, 323
Ramírez de Villa Escusa, Don Sebastian, Bishop of Santo Domingo, President of Audiencia, 169; returns to Spain, made Bishop of Tuy and Leon and Chancellor of Valladolid, and Bishop of Cueuca, his death, 172, 310, 314
Rangel, Rodrigo, 235
Rapapelo, nickname of Gonzalo Mexia, 19
Realgar = red sulphide of arsenic, 106, 128
Residencia General proclaimed against Cortés, 112
Retamales, a soldier, 238
Revolts in Mexico, 327, 328
Rewards, insufficient, 278
Ribera, Pedro de, 19
Rico de Alanis, Juan, 232
Rio, Juan del, 232
Rios, Gregorio, a Portuguese, 240
Rívas, Altas or Altias, killed by Juan Velásquez de Leon, 254
Rodas, Andrés de, 235
Rodrigo, Fray, Dominican Friar, 283
Rodríguez, Alonzo, 250
Rodríguez Margariño, Francisco, 228
Rodríguez, Sebastian, 247
Rojas, Fulano de, 249
Rojas, Captain under Pedrarias, 96; ejected from Olancho by Sandoval, 97
Romero, Alonzo, 243
Ruano, Juan, 228
Rubios, Palacios, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; death of his horse, 31; breaks his leg, 36
Ruiz de Alanis, Juan, 232
Ruiz de Esquivel, Mayor-domo to Cortés, 139; his mysterious death, 140
Ruiz de la Mota, Gerónimo, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3
Ruiz de la Parra, Juan, 233
Ruiz de Rojas, Marcos, Captain of ship, 202

Sacachul, Cacique of Old Guatemala (Iximché), 120
Sacachules, birds like pheasants kept by Indians, 51
Sacrifices, human, 262
Salazar, Chamberlain, on expedition to Honduras, 3
Salazar, Gonzalo de, the Factor, accompanies Cortés to Coatzacoalcos, 4; attentions to Cortés, 5; given authority to act as Governor, and returns to Mexico, 7; assumes government of Mexico, 72, 73; puts on mourning for Cortés, proclaims himself Captain-General, 74; brings suits against Conquistadores, sends despatches to Spain, 76-78; fortifies his house, 78; his commission revoked by Cortés, 87; imprisoned in a cage, 90, 124; released, 133; makes friends with Nuño de Guzman, prevents the Perpetual Assignment, 156; embarks for Spain, shipwrecked and returns to Mexico, 156; makes claims against Cortés, 157; 165
Salazar de la Pedrada dies of pleurisy, 105
Saldaña, a soldier, 248
Salmeron, Oidor of Royal Audiencia, 170; returns to Spain, 171
Sánchez, Captain Miguel or Luis, 122
San Alifonso, town founded in Zapotec country, 132
San Anton, Cape of, 64
Sánchez, Gaspar, 250
Sánchez, Gonzalo, a Portuguese, 240
Sánchez, Farfan, Pedro, 248
Sandoval, Gonzalo de, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3, 22, 23

24, 38, 40, 41; goes ahead to the Rio Dulce, 43; meets the followers of Gil González, 44; returns to Cortés, 45; at the crossing of the Rio Dulce, a quarrel with Sayavedra, 47, 48, 49; ordered to go to Naco, 53, 54; arrives at Naco, 56, 57, 59; arrests Pedro de Garro, 67; pleads for patience with Cortés, 85; visits Cortés at Trujillo, 86; expels Rojas from Olancho, 97; accused of poisoning Luis Ponce and Garay, 115; 117; acts as intercessor for Bernal Díaz, 122; becomes joint Governor with A. de Estrada, 127; affronted by Estrada, 133; prepares to go to Spain, 135; embarks at Vera Cruz, reaches Spain, robbed of his gold, his death at Palos, 141; burial at La Rabida, 142; 222, 223; his appearance, age and character, 253-4

San Francisco, Monastery of, as a place of refuge, 88

Sandoval, Tello de, takes Residencia of the Viceroy and Oidores, becomes President of the Council of the Indies, 315

San Gil de Buena Vista, 34, 46, 49

San Juanes, two of the name, 241

San Miguel, Fulano de, Chamberlain, on expedition to Honduras, 3

San Pedro and San Pablo, River, 184

Santa Cruz, Burgalés, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; given Power of Attorney by Cortés, 138

Santa Cruz, Island of, 182, 183

Santiago, Fulano de, 248

Santiago Señor, the church of, 75

Santillana, Licentiate, Oidor under the Viceroy, 173, 315

Santistevan, the Elder, 235

Santo Domingo, Admiral of, ordered to arrest Cortés, 103

Santa Domingo, Royal Audiencia of, 63, 64

Sauzedo, Francisco de, "el galan," 227

Sauzedo, Pedro de, the flat-nosed, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; 85, 86

Sayavedra, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; a relation of Cortés, quarrels with Sandoval, 47, 48, made Captain-General of Trujillo, 60; on expedition, 62, 86; fails to deliver letters from Cortés, 97, 117, 118

Sayavedra Zeron, Álvaro de, in command of expedition to the Moluccas, 179, 180, 209

Sedeño, Juan, 239

Serna, Fulano de la, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3, 231

Serrano, a crossbowman, 250

Siguenza, Cardinal de, 142

Silver Mines, 273

Sinacatençintla. *See* Çinacantençintle.

Síndos de Portillo. *See* Portillo.

Sleeping Sickness, 113, 115, 117

Soconusco, 121, bad government of, 329-331

Sodomy practised in the hot country, 263

Solis, an old man, 228

Solis, "He of the Orchard," 228

Solis, Pedro de, "Behind the door," 228

Solis, Pedro, Casquete, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3; his horse drowned in the Rio Dulce, 48, 228

Sopuesta del Candado, a pilot, 245, 246

Sória, Diego de, 238

Sória, Bernaldino de, 235

Swine, great herd of, taken on expedition to Honduras, 4, 16

Tabasco, Caciques from, supply expedition with provisions, 11; expedition to settle, 125

Tacuba, Cacique of. Taken by Cortés on expedition to Honduras, 2; hanged for complicity in plot, 27, 29

Talavera, Alonzo de, 242

Talchinalchapa, 66

Tamales, an Indian cooked food, 29

Tamastepec, 13 (and note), 15, 17

Tania, 39

Tápia, Andrés de, 72; takes refuge in Monastery of San Francisco, 78, 88, 89; steward of feast given to Luis Ponce, 106; accused of giving poison, 107; acts as intercessor for Bernal Díaz, 122; prepares to go to Spain, 135; accompanies Cortés on expedition to Santa Cruz, 184, 224; his appearance, age and character, 257; writes to Bernal Díaz, 285

Tápia, Cristóbal de, 105, 111

Tápia, Pedro de, 245

Tápia, Mexican Cacique, informs Cortés of plot against the Spaniards, 26
Tapizuelo, Mexican Cacique, taken by Cortés on expedition to Honduras, 2
Tarifa, a soldier, drowned in the Rio Dulce, 48, 247, 248; another of the same name, 247
Tatahuitalpan, 13 (note)
Tayasal, 33, 34
Tayca, 36, 39
Teapa, an Encomienda of Bernal Díaz, 11
Tecomajiaca, an Encomienda of Bernal Díaz, 11
Tehuantepec, 121, 178, 179, 181-184
Tejada of Logroño, Licentiate, Oidor under the Viceroy, 173, 315, 316
Tepetitan, 11, 12, 13 (note)
Terrazas, Francisco de, 228
Texcoco, 100
Tiltepeques, Zapotec Pueblos, 131
Tipu, 34, 35 (note)
Tlaxcala, 100
Tlatelolco, 75
Tobilla, a soldier, 229
Tonalá, 10
Torre, Fulano de la, ordered to take Residencia of Nuño de Guzman, 170; arrives in Mexico, arrests Nuño de Guzman, 174; trick played on him, his death, 174, 175, 315
Tostado, Pedro, and his son, 249
Trade and Art among the Indians, 268, 269
Trade and tribute from America to Spain, 271
Treasurer. *See* Alonzo de Estrada
Trebejo, a soldier, 250
Triunfo de la Cruz, 17, 69
Trujillo, 54, 83, 95
Trujillo, three soldiers of this name 232
Tzimin Chac, God of Thunder, 35 (note)

Ulloa, Francisco de, left in charge of Cortés's Santa Cruz expedition, 187; sent in command of another expedition to California, murdered on his return, 187, 188
Umbria, Gonzalo de, 235; a pilot, 246
University of Mexico, 272

Valderrama, de, Oidor, 317
Valencia, Pedro de, 250
Valenciano, Pedro, 247
Valenzuela, Maria de, wife of Pánfilo de Narvaez, 159
Valiente, Alonzo, accompanies expedition to Honduras, 3, 7, 9; given Power of Attorney by Cortés, 138
Valladolid, Fulano de, 233
Valladolid, the stout, 233
Varela, Fulano de, 233
Vargas Carvajal, Juan de, Governor of Honduras, 329
Vasco de Quirova, Oidor of Royal Audiencia, 170. *See* Quirova.
Vásquez Coronado, Francisco, Conqueror of Cibola, takes Residencia of Nuño de Guzman, marries daughter of Alonzo de Estrada, his death, 175, 201, 202
Vásquez Coronado, Juan, appointed Governor of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, lost at sea, 332
Vásquez, Fulano, a soldier, 239
Vásquez, Martin, 247
Vásquez de Tápia, Bernaldino, oes as Proctor to Spain, 165-167, 229
Veedor. *See* Chirinos.
Vejarano, Zervan, Butler, on expedition to Honduras, 3
Velasco, Don Luis de, Viceroy for sixteen years, 317
Velásquez, the Bachelor Fulano, a priest, 45
Velásquez, Gutiere, Licentiate, 199
Velásquez de Leon, Juan, 224; his appearance, age and character, 254
Velásquez, Juan, Mexican Cacique, taken by Cortés on expedition to Honduras, 2; informs Cortés of plot against the Spaniards, 26; his death, 121
Velásquez, Luis, 236
Vena, Licentiate, practises frauds on the Viceroy and Audiencia, flogged and banished, 316
Vendabal, Francisco Martin, sacrificed alive, 232
Villafuerte, Fulano de, 233
Villalobos, a Cosmographer, appointed joint-captain of fleet, 206, 207; commands expedition to Spice Islands, reported taken prisoner, 209
Villalobos, Gregorio de, Mayor-domo to Cortés, 102
Villalobos, Fulano de, 232
Villandrano, 230

Villanueva, reproved by Sandoval, 56
Villanueva, two of the name, Portuguese, 240
Villanueva, Alonzo, Proctor from Mexico to Spain, 281
Villareal, Antonio de, husband of Ysabel de Ojeda, deprived of the Pueblo of Cuernavaca, 164; changed his name to Antonio Serrano de Cardona. 228
Villaroel. *See* Villareal.
Villa Sinda, a soldier, 241
Villegas, deprived of his Encomienda, 164

Xagua, Rio, 69
Xaso, Juan de, Maestresala on expedition to Honduras, 3
Xicalango, outpost of Mexican Empire, 9 (note), 18. 74, 123
Xicotenga (Don Lorenzo de Vargas), his son taken to Spain by Cortés, 138
Ximénez, Ortuño, Cosmographer-pilot, on expedition to the South Sea, 181; kills his Captain Becerra, discovers Island of Santa Cruz, 182; is killed by natives, 183

Yañes, Alonzo, 240
Yllescas, Historian, 286, 288
Ynis, Juan de, 233
Ynojosa, goes with Bernal Díaz in search of food, 41
Ysquierdo, Martin, 241
Yucatan, Governors of, 319

Zaballos, arrives in Mexico with Power of Attorney on behalf of Panfilo de Narvaez, 159; lodges claims against Conquistadores, 159
Zacatula, 178
Zaguatan, 11
Zamorano, friend of Pedrarias, 82
Zamudio, a soldier, 246
Zapote, a fruit, 43, 57
Zapotecs, rise in revolt, 73; expedition against, 125, 130, 131
Zaragosa, an old man, father of the Notary, 239
Zaragosa, Luis de, 232
Zaynos of Toro, Oidor of Royal Andiencia, 169; returns to Spain, 171, 317
Zinacan, Cacique of Old Guatemala (Iximché), 120
Zuazo, Licentíate, appointed chief Alcalde of Mexico, 2, 4; arrives at Trujillo, 71, 72, 73; arrested by the Factor and sent to Cuba, 77-79; his letter to Cortés, 79, 96
Zuñiga, Fray Antonio de, 212
Zuñiga, Doña Juana de, niece of the Duque de Bejar, betrothed to Cortés, 145, 148; sends help to Cortés at Santa Cruz, 186; 212
Zuñiga, Don Alvaro de, Duque de Bejar, 72; intercedes for Cortés, 103; and advises him, 139, 142, 143, 145-148, 200

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(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1855.

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(Vol. 2 = No. 68.) *Issued for* 1864.

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Translated from the original Spanish MSS., & Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xx. 220. Index. *Issued for* 1872.

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Issued for 1874.

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Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, and Edited by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum. Vol. 1. pp. lx. 256. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. (Index in No. 69.)
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Issued for 1877.

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To Illustrate Nos. 33, 41, 45, 60, and 61. *Issued for* 1879.

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Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, with Notes & an Introduction, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., of the British Museum. Vol. 3. pp. xliv. 308. 3 Maps. 3 Illus. (Index in No. 69.) *Issued for* 1880.

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INDEX

TO THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS, 1847-1916.

Abd-er-Razzak, i. 22
Abyssinia, i. 32, 64 ; ii. 10
Acosta, Joseph de, i. 60, 61
Acuña, Cristoval de, i. 24 ; ii. 22
Adams, Will., i. 8, 66, 67 ; ii. 5
Africa, i. 21, 58, 82, 83, 92-94, 95, 100
Africa, East, i. 32, 35, 64 ; ii. 10
Africa, West, ii. 6
Aguirre, Lope de, i. 28, 47
Alaminos Anton de, ii. 23
Albuquerque, Affonso de, i. 53, 55, 62, 69
Alcock, Thomas, i. 72, 73
Alessandri, Vincentio d', i. 49
Al Hassan Ibn Muhammad. *See* Hasan
Alvarado, Pedro de, ii. 23
Alvarez, Francisco, i. 64
Alvo, Francisco, i. 52
Amapaia, i. 3
Amat y Junient, Manuel de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 13
Amazon, i. 24
America, Central, i. 40
America, North, i. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 18, 21, 23, 43, 50, 65, 96, 97
America, South, i. 3, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 45, 47, 51, 60, 61, 68, 76, 77, 80, 81, 91; ii. 3, 13, 14, 15, 22
Amherst of Hackney, Lord, ii. 7, 8
Andagoya, Pascual de, i. 34 ; ii. 22
Andrew, Bishop of Zayton, i. 36 ; ii. 37
Angiolello, Giovanni Maria, i. 49
Angola, ii. 6
Aquines, Juan. *See* Hawkins, Sir John.
Arabia, i. 32; ii. 16
Arctic Regions, i. 13, 54, 88, 89, 96, 97
Arias, Dr. Juan Luis, i. 25 ; ii. 14, 15
Arias d'Avila, Pedro, i. 21, 34, 47 ; ii. 22, 23
Arriaga y Rivera, Julian de, ii. 13
Arromaia, i. 3
Asher, George Michael, i. 27
Asia, i. 5, 8, 13-15, 17, 19, 22, 26, 35-39, 42, 44, 49, 53-55, 58, 62, 66, 67, 69-78, 80, 82, 83, 87 ; ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 16, 17, 35
Astete, Miguel de, i. 47 ; ii. 22, 35
Atahualpa, i. 47, 68 ; ii. 22
Australasia, i. 25 ; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15, 18
Avila, Francisco de, i. 48 ; ii. 22
Avila, Pedro Arias d'. *See* Arias d'Avila.
Azov, i. 49
Azurara, Gomes Eannes de. *See* Eannes.

Badger, George Percy, i. 32, 44
Baffin, William, i. 5, 63, 88, 89
Balak, John, i. 13, 54
Bantam, i. 19
Barbaro, Giosafat, i. 49
Barbosa, Duarte, i. 35, 52
Barcelona MSS., i. 35
Bardsen, Ivar, i. 50
Barentsz., William, i. 13, 27, 54
Barker, Edmund, i. 56
Barlow, R., i. 74, 75, 78
Barrow, John, F.R.S., i. 11
Battell, Andrew, ii. 6
Beazley, Charles Raymond, i. 95, 100 ; Extra Ser. 13
Behrens, Carl Friedrich, ii. 13
Beke, Charles Tilstone, i. 13, 54
Bell, Harry Charles Purvis, i. 76, 77, 80
Belmonte y Bermudez, Luis de ii. 14, 15
Bengal, i. 37, 74, 75, 78 ; ii. 12
Bent, James Theodore, i. 87
Benzoni, Girolamo, i. 21
Bermudas, i. 65, 86
Bermudez, Joaõ, ii. 10
Beste, George, i. 38
Béthencourt, Jean de, i. 46 ; ii. 21
Bethune, Charles Ramsay Drinkwater, i. 1, 30
Beynen, Koolemans, i. 54
Biedma, Luis Hernandez de, i. 9
Bilot, Robert, i. 88, 89
Birch, Walter de Gray, i. 53, 55, 62, 69
Bollaert, William, i. 28
Bond, Sir Edward Augustus, K.C.B., i. 20
Bontier, Pierre, i. 46 ; ii. 21
Boty, Iver, i. 13
Bowrey, Thomas, ii. 12

Bracciolini, Poggio, i. 22
Brazil, i. 51, 76, 77, 80
Bridge, Admiral Sir Cyprian Arthur George, G.C.B., ii. 13
British Guiana, ii. 26, 27
British Museum MSS., i. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 25, 38, 52, 53, 55, 62, 65-67, 69 ; ii. 13, 16, 22
Brown, Dr. Robert, i. 92-94
Brugge, Jacob Segersz. van der. *See* Segersz., Jacob
Bruun, Philip, i. 58
Burnell, Arthur Coke, C.I.E., i. 70, 71
Burre, Walter, i. 19
Burrough, Christopher, i. 72, 73
Burrough, William, i. 72, 73
Burton, Sir Richard Francis, K.C.M.G., i. 51
Butler, Nathaniel, i. 65, 86
Button, Sir Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
Bylot, Robert, i. 5, 63, 88, 89

Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez. *See* Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca.
Cabot, John, i. 86
Cabot, Sebastian, i. 5, 12
Cambodia, i. 39
Canarian, The, i. 46 ; ii. 21
Canary Islands, i. 21, 46 ; ii. 21
Candelaria, Our Lady of, ii. 21
Cape of Good Hope, i. 22, 36, 37, 82, 83
Carmont, Elizabeth, Extra Ser. 12
Carpino Joannes, de Plano. *See* Joannes.
Caspian Sea, i. 72, 73
Cassano, Ussan, i. 49
Castanhoso, Miguel de, ii. 10
Castilla del Oro, i. 34, 47
Cathay, i. 5, 13, 36-38, 54; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37, 38, 41
Champlain, Samuel, i. 23
Chanca, Dr., i. 2, 43
Charles V., Emperor, i. 40, 47 ; ii. 22, 23, 24
Charnock, Job, i. 74, 75, 78
Cheinie, Richard, i. 72, 73
China, i. 5, 13-15, 17, 36, 37, 39, 54 ; ii. 19, 20 ; ii. 33, 37
Christy, Robert Miller, i. 88, 89
Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, i. 33, 68; ii. 22, 31
Cinnamon, Land of, i. 24
Clavigo, Ruy Gonzalez de. *See* Gonzalez de Clavigo.
Cliffe, Edward, i. 16
Clifford, George, i. 59
Coats, William, i. 11
Cocks, Richard, i. 8, 66, 67
Cogswell, Joseph G., i. 27
Collinson, Sir Richard, K.C.B., i. 38
Columbus, Christopher :
Journal. i. 86
Letters, i. 2, 43
Congo, ii. 6
Contarini, Ambrogio, i. 49
Conti, Nicolò, i. 22
Conway, Sir William Martin, ii. 11
Cooley, William Desborough, i. 4
Cook, Captain James, i. 25
Coote, Charles Henry, i. 72, 73
Cordier, Henri, ii. 33, 37, 38, 41
Corney, Bolton, i. 19
Corney, Bolton Glanvill, I.S.O., ii. 13, 32, 36
Correa, Gaspar, i. 42
Corte Real, Gaspar, i. 86
Cortés, Hernando, i., 21, 40 ; ii. 23, 24, 25
Cosmas Indicopleustes, i. 98
Covel, John, i. 87
Crosse, Ralph, i. 56
Crooke, William, ii. 19, 20
Cumberland, Earl of, i. 59
Cuzco, i. 47 ; ii. 22

Dalboquerque, Afonso. *See* Albuquerque.
Dallam, Thomas, i. 87
Dalrymple, Alexander, i. 25 ; ii. 14, 15
Dampier, William, i. 25
Danish Arctic Expeditions, i. 96, 97
Darien, Gulf of, i. 33
Dati, Giuliano, i. 2, 43
Davila, Pedrarias. *See* Arias d'Avila.
Davis, Edward, ii. 13
Davis, John, i. 5, 59, 88, 89
De Villiers, John Abraham Jacob, ii. 11, 18, 26, 27
Díaz, Juan, *Clerigo*, ii. 23
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Digges, Sir Dudley, i. 63
Dominguez, Don Luis L., i. 81
Donck, Adrian van der, i. 27
Dorado, El, i. 3, 28 ; ii. 26, 27
Doughty, Thomas, i. 16
Downton, Nicholas, i. 56
Drake, Sir Francis, i. 4, 16 ; ii. 34
Drake, Sir Francis, the Younger, i. 16
Drake, John, ii. 34
Dryandri, Joh., i. 51
Ducket, Jeffrey, i. 72, 73
Dudley, Sir Robert, ii. 3
Dutch Voyages, i. 13 ; ii. 11, 13, 18

East India, ii. 19, 20, 39
East India Company, i. 5, 19
East Indies. *See* India.
Easter Island, ii. 13
Eannes, Gomes, de Zurara, i. 95, 100

Egerton MSS., ii. 13
Eden, Richard, i. 12
Edwards, Arthur, i. 72, 73
Egypt, i. 32
El Dorado, i. 3, 28 ; ii. 26, 27
Ellesmere, Earl of, i. 17
Elvas, Gentleman of, i. 9
Emeria, i. 3
England, Circumnavigation of, i. 79
Engronelanda, i. 50
Enriquez de Guzman, Alonzo, i. 29
Eslanda, i. 50
Espinosa, Alonso de, ii. 21
Estotilanda, i. 50
Ethiopia. *See* Abyssinia.
Europe, i. 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 49, 54, 58, 64, 72, 73, 79 ; ii. 9, 11, 17

Ferguson, Donald William, ii. 9
Fernandez de Quiros, Pedro de. *See* Quiros
Figueroa, Christoval Suarez de. *See* Suarez de Figueroa.
Fletcher, Francis, i. 16
Fletcher, Giles, i. 20
Florida, i. 7, 9
Fort St. George, i. 74, 75, 78
Foster, William, B.A., ii. 1, 2, 16
Fotherby, Robert, i. 63
Fox, Luke, i. 5, 88, 89
Foxe, Luke. *See* Fox.
Frislanda, i. 50
Frobisher, Sir Martin, i. 5, 38, 88, 89
Fryer, John, ii. 19, 20, 39
Furnace, H.M.S., i. 11

Gairdner, James, i. 79
Galvão, Antonio, i. 30
Gama, Christovão da, ii. 10
Gama, Vasco da, i. 42, 99
Gamboa, Pedro Sarmiento de. *See* Sarmiento de Gamboa.
García, Genaro, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30
Garcilasso de la Vega, *el Inca*, i. 24, 41, 45 ; ii. 22
Gastaldi, Jacopo, i. 12
Gatonbe, John, i. 63
Gayangos, Pascual de, i. 40 ; ii. 22
Gerritsz., Hessel, i. 27, 54 ; ii. 11
Gibbons, William, i. 5, 88, 89
Gibraltar, Straits of, i. 79
Globes, i. 79
God's Power & Providence, i. 18
Goes, Benedict, i. 36, 37
Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy, i. 26; ii. 21
González y Haedo, Felipe, ii. 13
Gosch, Christian Carl August, i. 96, 97
Gray, Albert, K.C., i. 76, 77, 80
Great Mogul, ii. 1, 2
Greenland, i. 18, 50, 96, 97
Grey, Charles, i. 49
Grey, Edward, i. 84, 85
Grijalva, Juan de, ii. 23
Grimston, Edward. *See* Grimstone.
Grimstone, Edward, i. 60, 61
Guanches, ii. 21
Guiana, i. 3 ; ii. 3
Guinea, i. 95, 100 ; ii. 6

Hackit, Thomas, i. 7
Hakluyt, Richard :
  Divers Voyages, i. 7
  Galvano, i. 30
  Principall Navigations, i. 16, 20, 38, 59 ; Extra Ser. 1-12
  Terra Florida, i. 9
  Will of, i. 7
Hall, James, i. 5, 88, 89, 96, 97
Harleian MSS., i. 8
Harris, C. A., ii. 26, 27
Hasan Ibn Muhammad, al Wazzān, al Fāsi, i. 92-94
Havers, George, i. 84, 85
Hawkins, Sir John, i. 1, 57
Hawkins, Sir Richard, i. 1, 57
Hawkins, William, i. 57
Hawkridge, William, i. 88, 89
Hedges, Sir William, i. 74, 75, 78
Heidelberg MS., i. 58
Herberstein, Sigismund von, i. 10, 12
Hernandez de Biedma, Luis, i. 9
Herrera, Antonio de, i. 24 ; ii. 22, 23
Hervé, Juan, ii. 13
Honduras, i. 40
Horsey, Sir Jerome, i. 20
Houtman's Abrolhos, i. 25
Howard, Eliot, ii. 12
Hudson, Henry, i. 13, 27, 88, 89
Hudson's Bay, i. 11, 96, 97
Hues, Robert, i. 79
Hugli River, i. 78 ; ii. 12

Ibn Batuta, i. 36, 37
Icaria, i. 50
Imâms and Seyyids of 'Omân i. 44
Incas, i. 41, 45, 47, 48 ; ii. 22
Incas, Rites and Laws, i. 48 ; ii. 22
Incas, Royal Commentaries, i. 41, 45 ; ii. 22
India, i. 5, 22, 32, 38, 42, 53, 55, 56, 69, 62, 70, 71, 74-78, 80, 84, 85 ; ii. 1, 2, 9, 12, 16, 17
India Office MSS., i. 5, 56, 66, 67
Indian Language, Dictionarie of the, i. 6
Italy, ii. 9

James I., i. 19
James, Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
Janes, John, i. 59
Japan, i. 8, 39, 66, 67 ; ii. 5

Java, i. 82, 83
Jeannin, P., i. 27
Jenkinson, Anthony, i. 72, 73
Joannes, de Plano Carpino, ii. 4; Extra Ser. 13
Jones, John Winter, i. 7, 22, 32
Jordanus [Catalani], i. 31, 36; ii. 37
Jourdain, John, ii. 16
Jovius, Paulus, i. 12
Juet, Robert, i. 27

Keeling, William, i. 56
Knight, John, i. 5, 56, 88, 89

Lambrechtsen, i. 27
Lancaster, Sir James, i. 56
La Peyrère, Isaac de, i. 18
La Plata, City, i. 33
La Plata, River, i. 81
Lefroy, Sir John Henry, K.C.M.G., i. 65, 86
Leguat, François, i. 82, 83
Le Maire, Jacob, ii. 18
Lendas da India, i. 42
Leo Africanus, i. 92-94
Leone, Giovanni, i. 92-94
Leupe, P. A., i. 25
Levant, i. 87
Le Verrier, Jean, i. 46; ii. 21
Leza, Gaspar Gonzalez de, i. 39; ii. 14, 15
Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, i. 70, 71

McCrindle, John Watson, i. 89
Madras, i. 74, 75, 78
Madrid MSS., i. 29
Magellan, Ferdinand, i. 52
Magellan, Straits of, i. 91; ii. 18
Major, Richard Henry, i. 2, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 25, 43, 46, 50
Malay Archipelago, ii. 16, 18
Malabar, i. 35
Maldive Islands, i. 76, 77, 80
Maluco Islands. *See* Molucca Islands.
Manoa, i. 3
Marignolli, John de', i. 37; ii. 37
Markham, Sir Albert Hastings, K.C.B., i. 59
Markham, Sir Clements Robert, K.C.B., i. 24, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 41, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 68, 79, 86, 90, 91; ii. 14, 15, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31
Martens, Friedrich, i. 18
Maudslay, Alfred Percival, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Mauritius, i. 82, 83
Maynarde, Thomas, i. 4
Mendaña de Neyra, Alvaro, i. 25, 39; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
Mendoza, Juan Gonzalez de, i. 14, 15
Mexico, i. 23; ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Michon, Marie, Extra Ser., 12, 33
Middleton, Christopher, i. 11
Middleton, Sir Henry, i. 19, 56
Mirabilia Descripta, i. 31
Mogul, The Great, ii. 1, 2
Molucca Islands, i. 19, 39, 52, 76, 77, 80
Molyneux, Emery, i. 79
Montecorvino, John of, i. 36; ii. 37
Montezuma, i. 61; ii. 23, 24
Morga, Antonio de, i. 39; ii. 14, 15
Morgan, Henry, i, 59
Morgan, Edward Delmar, i. 72, 73, 79, 83, 86
Mundy, Peter, ii. 17, 35
Munk, Jens, i. 96, 97
Münster, Sebastian, i. 12
Muscovy Company, i. 7, 63; ii. 11

Neumann, Karl Friedrich, i. 58
New Hebrides, ii. 14, 15
New Spain, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
New World, i. 2, 43
Nicaragua, i. 34
Nicopolis, i. 58
Nikitin, Athanasius, i. 22
Nombre de Dios, i. 16
Norsemen in America, i. 2, 50
North-East Voyages, i. 13
North-West Passage, i. 5, 11, 38, 56, 88, 89, 96, 97
Northern Seas, i. 50
Nova Zembla, i. 13, 54
Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar, i. 81
Nuttall, Mrs. Zelia, ii. 34

Ocampo, Baltasar de, ii. 22
Odoric, Friar, i. 36; ii. 33
Olaondo, Alberto, ii. 13
Olid, Cristóval de, ii. 23
Oliver, Samuel Pasfield, i. 82, 83
Omagua, i. 28
'Omân, i. 44
Ondegardo, Polo de, i. 48; ii. 22
Orellana, Francisco de, i. 24
Orléans, Pierre Joseph d', i. 17
Ormuz, Kings of, ii. 9
Oviedo, Gabriel de, ii. 22

Pachacamac, i. 47; ii. 22
Pacific Ocean, i. 1, 34, 57; ii. 13, 18
Paraguay, River, i. 81
Parke, Robert, i. 14, 15
Pascal of Vittoria, i. 36; ii. 37
Pegolotti, i. 37; ii. 37
Pellham, Edward, i. 18
Pelsart, Francis, i. 25
Pereira, Thomas, i. 17
Persia, i. 32, 49, 72, 73; ii. 19, 20, 39

Peru, i. 33, 34, 41, 45, 47, 60, 61 68 ; ii. 22
Peru, Chronicle of, i. 33, 68
Philip, William, i. 13, 54
Philippine Islands, i. 39
Pigafetta, Antonio, i. 52
Pitt Diamond, i. 78
Pitt, Thomas, i. 74, 75, 78
Pizarro, Francisco, i. 21, 47 ; ii. 22
Pizarro, Gonzalo, i. 21, 24, 47 ; ii. 22
Pizarro, Hernando, i. 47 ; ii. 22
Pochahontas, i. 6
Pool, Gerrit Thomasz., i. 25
Portugal, i. 64 ; ii. 10
Pory, John, i. 92-94
Powhatan, i. 6
Prado y Tovar, Don Diego de, ii. 14, 15
Prestage, Edgar, i. 95, 100
Prester John, i. 64 ; ii. 10
Pricket Abacuk, i, 27
Public Record Office MSS., i. 38
Puerto Rico, i. 4
Purchas, Samuel, i. 13, 56, 63 ; Extra Ser. 14-33
Pyrard, François, i. 76, 77, 80

Quatremère, i. 22
Quiros, Pedro Fernandez de, i. 25, 39 ; ii. 14, 15
Quito, The War of, ii. 31

Raleigh, Sir Walter, i. 3
Raleigh, Walter, *Professor*, Extra Ser. 12
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, i. 49, 52
Rashiduddin, i. 37 ; ii. 37
Ravenstein, Ernest George, i. 99 ; ii. 6
Rawlinson MSS., ii. 17
Recueil de Voyages, i. 31
Remón, Alonzo, ii. 23
Ribault, John, i. 7
Rockhill, William Woodville, ii. 4
Rodriguez, Island, i. 82, 83
Roe, Sir Thomas, ii. 1, 2
Roggeveen, Jacob, ii. 13
Roy, Eugene Armand, i. 49
Rubruquis, Gulielmus de, ii. 4 ; Extra Ser. 13
Rundall, Thomas, i. 5, 8
Russe Commonwealth, i. 20
Russia, i. 10, 12, 20, 72, 73
Rye, William Brenchley, i. 9

Salīl-Ibn-Ruzaik, i. 44
Samarcand, i. 26
Sancho, Pedro, i. 47 ; ii. 22
Santo-Stefano, Hieronimo di, i. 22
Saris, John, i. 8 ; ii. 5
Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro, i. 91 ; ii. 22, 34
Satow, Sir Ernest Mason, G.C.M.G., ii. 5
Schiltberger, Johann, i. 58
Schmidel, Ulrich, i. 81
Schmidt, Ulrich. *See* Schmidel.
Schomburgk, Sir Robert Hermann i. 3
Schouten, Willem Cornelisz., ii. 18
Scory, Sir Edmund, ii. 21
Seaman's Secrets, i. 59
Segersz., Jacob, ii. 11
Sellman, Edward, i. 38
Shakspere's "New Map," i. 59
Sharpeigh, Alexander, i. 56
Shaw, Norton, i. 23
Siam, i. 39
Silva, Nuño da, ii. 34
Simon, Pedro, i. 28
Sinclair, William Frederic, ii. 9
Sloane MSS., i. 25, 65 ; ii. 16
Smith, Capt. John, i. 65, 86
Smith, Sir Thomas, i. 19, 63, 65
Smyth, William Henry, i. 21
Solomon Islands, ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
Soltania, Archbishop of, i. 36 ; ii. 37
Somers, Sir George, i. 65
Soto, Ferdinando de, i. 9, 47
Soulsby, Basil Harrington, ii. 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18
Sousa Tavares, Francisco de, i. 30
South Sea . *See* Pacific Ocean.
Spanish MSS., i. 29, 48
Spanish Voyages, i. 25, 39 ; ii. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15
Speilbergen, Joris van, ii. 18
Spitsbergen, i. 13, 18, 54 ; ii. 11.
Staden, Johann von, i. 51
Stanley of Alderley, Lord, i. 35, 39, 42, 52, 64
Staunton, Sir George Thomas, Bart., i. 14, 15
Stere, William, i. 13
Storm van 's Gravesande, ii. 26, 27
Strachey, William, i. 6
Suarez de Figueroa, Christoval, i. 57 ; ii. 14, 15
Summer Islands, i. 65, 86
Syria, i. 32

Tabasco, ii. 23
Tahiti, ii. 13, 32, 36
Tamerlane, The Great, i. 26
Tana (Azov), i. 49
Tapía, Andrés de, ii. 23
Tartary, i. 17 ; ii. 1, 2, 4
Tavares, Francisco de Sousa. *See* Sousa Tavares, F. de.
Teixeira, Pedro, ii. 9

Telfer, John Buchan, i. 58
Temple, Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., ii. 12, 17, 35
Tenerife, ii. 21
Terra Australis, i. 25
Terra Florida, i. 9
Thomas, William, i. 49
Thompson, Sir Edward Maunde, K.C.B., i. 66, 67
Thomson, Basil Home, ii. 7, 8
Thorne, Robert, i. 7
Tibet, i. 36, 37 ; ii. 33
Tiele, Pieter Anton, i. 70, 71
Tierra Firme, i. 28, 34, 47
Timour, Great Khan, i. 26
Toledo, Francisco de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 22
Tootal, Albert, i. 51
Topographia Christiana, i. 98
Torquemada, Fray Juan de, ii. 14, 15
Torres, Luis Vaez de, i. 25, 39 ; ii. 14, 15
Toscanelli, Paolo, i. 86
Towerson, Gabriel, i. 19
Tractatus de Globis, i. 79
Transylvanus, Maximilianus, i. 52
Tupac Amaru, *Inca*, ii. 22
Turbervile, George i. 10
Turkey Merchants, i. 87

Ursua, Pedro de, i. 28, 47

Valle, Pietro della, i. 84, 85
Varthema, Ludovico di, i. 19, 32
Vaux, William Sandys Wright, i, 16
Vaz, Lopez, i. 16
Veer, Gerrit de, i. 13, 54
Velasco, Don Luis de, ii. 34
Velásquez, Diego, ii. 23
Vera Cruz, ii. 23
Verarzanus, John, i. 7, 27
Verbiest, Ferdinand, i. 17
Vespucci, Amerigo, i. 90
Vilcapampa, ii. 22
Virginia Britannia, i. 6
Vivero y Velasco, Rodrigo de i. 8
Vlamingh, Willem de, i. 25
Volkersen, Samuel, i. 25

Warner, George Frederic, Litt.D., ii. 3
Weigates, Straits of, i. 13, 54
West Indies, i. 4, 23 ; ii. 3, 23
Weymouth, George, i. 5, 88, 89
White, Adam, i. 18
Whiteway, Richard Stephen, ii. 10
Wielhorsky, i. 22
William of Rubruck. *See* Rubruquis, Gulielmus de
Wilmere, Alice, i. 23
Winter, John, i. 16
Witsen, Nicolaas, i. 17, 25
Wolstenholme, Sir John, i. 63, 88, 89
Worlde's Hydrographical Description, i. 59
Wright, Edward, i. 59

Xeres, Francisco de, i. 47 ; ii. 22

Yncas. *See* Incas.
Yucatan, ii. 23
Yule, Sir Henry, K.C.S.I., i. 31 36, 37, 74, 75, 78 ; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37, 38, 41

Zarate, Don Francisco de, ii. 34
Zeno, Antonio, i. 50
Zeno, Caterino, i. 49
Zeno, Nicolo, i. 50
Zychman, i. 51

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1905 Vienna, K. K. Geographische Gesellschaft, Wollzeile 33, Vienna.
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1904 Wagner, Herrn H., and E. Debes, Geographische Anstalt, Brüderstrasse 23, Leipzig.
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